

HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD COLLEGE*

VOLUME XXX



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PREFATORY NOTE

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COLLATIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ARISTOPHANES' VESPAE

PART II

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE AND EARNEST CARY

[For details regarding the collations here published, see Vol. XXIX
of these "Studies," pp. 77-83.]

HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis I is found in RVVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺, II in RVVp₃⁺; the
metrical one comes first in the MSS.*

I

Preceded by ἄλλη: — V 1 φιλόδικος] υ deleted after φ R, φιλο-
δικαστῆς rel. περὶ τὰ] εἰς Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 3 νόσω] νήσω H παύσειν
RVp₂⁺, παῦσαι Vp₃⁺ 4 ἐφύλακτε R μεθ' ἡμέραν] V, μεθ' ἡμέραν
V¹Vp₃⁺ 5 ἐαυτῷ] R, αὐτῷ VVp₃⁺, αὐτῶν Vp₂⁺ περικείμενον R,
περικειμένης rel. δικασταὶ Vp₂⁺ αὐτοῦ] om Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ σφηγξίν
R, σφησὶν C 6 ἐαυτοὺς] αὐτοὺς Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ ἀφωμοιώσαντες R (and
Vp₃ at first) παρεγέροντο C 7 συνέστηκεν R, ξυνέστηκε Vp₂
9 ἔνεκεν H 10 τὸ πρᾶγμα] μηδαμῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα Vp₂⁺ εἶναι] om R
καὶ σχεδὸν ἀρχῆς] καὶ καὶ (lig.) ἀρχὴν R 11 δικάζεν R ἐξαί-
ρειν lib. 13 τοῦ πάθους] τοῦ πράγματος Vp₂⁺, τὸ πρᾶγμα Vp₃⁺
14 τοῦτο ποιεῖ] μόνον τοῦτο ποιεῖν Vp₂⁺, τοῦτο ποιεῖν μόνον Vp₃⁺
τοῖς] τοὺς Vp₂⁺, om Vp₃⁺ 15 δικάζει] -ειν Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ παρεια-
γονται παρ' αὐτῷ πολιτευτικῶς κρινόμενοι Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 16 κατὰ τοὺς
φεύγοντας Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ ἐκφέρειν συνεχῶς . . . φέρει ψῆφον] ἐκφέρει
τὴν ψῆφον RV 17 ἀποκαταδικάζουσιν Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺
18 χοροῦ] ποιητοῦ RV ποιητικοῦ] ποιητοῦ Vp₃⁺ 19 ὥς] διὰ τὸ
Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ εἰσὶν] εἶναι Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ οἱ] τοὺς Vp₂⁺, τὰ Vp₃⁺
20 πικροῖς Vp₂⁺ ἐφήδρυνον Vp₂⁺ 21 κεντοῦσι] from μενοῦσι(?)
H δέ] om Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 22 καὶ κρίνει αὐτὸν] κρίνει αὐτῷ Vp₂⁺

* The beginning of the *Vespa*, down to vs. 421, is wanting in Γ.

Vp3⁺ ὕβρεον C and perhaps Vp3 23 ἄρτοπώλης RC, -πώλης rel. γελοποιεῖ Vp2⁺

25 This paragraph omitted by Vp2⁺ 26 γὰρ] δὲ Vp3⁺ 1 τῶν δικῶν lib. καί] om RV 2 τοι] om Vp3⁺ σφηγξίν R εἰκάζει V, εἰμάζει Vp3⁺ 3 point and πεποιήται] om Vp3⁺

4 ἀμυνίου lib. πθ'] πόλει lib. ὀλυμπίων Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 5 δεύτε-
ρος ἦν] β ἦν RV, ἦν β rel. Λήναια] ληναῖα R, ληναία Vp2⁺ φιλο-
νίδης Vp2⁺ Προάγωνι Λεύκων] προαγώνι λευκῶν R, προάγων γλευκεῖς
(γλαυκεῖς Vp3⁺) Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 6 Πρέσβεσι] R, πρέσβεις rel. τρίτος]
γ VR, τρεῖς (τέις C) rel.

II

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ] ὅ σφηκῶν ἀριστοφ^a γραμμα R,
ὅ σφηκῶν ἀριστοφ^a V, ὑπόθεσις τῶν σφηκῶν τοῦ ἀριστοφάνους C 7 εἶρας
Vp3⁺, V doubtful 8 τ'] om VVp3⁺ οἰκέται θ'] οἰκέται R, οἰκουν-
ταθ' V, οἰκούνθ' Vp3⁺ 10 ὁ δ'] ὁκ' Vp3⁺ καί] τι Vp3⁺ 11 συνέ-
θεις Vp3⁺ 12-13 In R 13 follows 11, and in place of 12 appears
σφήκες παρόντες ἐκ ταυτοῦ κακοῦ. 12 βοηθοῦντι Vp3⁺ 13 ἰέναι V,
ἰεναι Vp3⁺ τισὶ Vp3⁺ 14 ἱκαν' Vp3⁺ 15 συμπίθεται R, ξυμ-
πίθεται V, ξυμπόθεται Vp3⁺ δικάζειν RVp3⁺ 16 ἐπεὶ] ἐπὶ VVp3⁺

ΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ:— This list is found only in
RVVp3⁺. Σωσίας Ξανθίας] οἰκέται β lib. χορ(ος) ἐκ γερόντων σφη-
κῶν lib. Κύων] κυδαθηνεὺς κύων lib. (entered as two speakers in
Vp3⁺) Ἀρτόπωλης] om Vp3⁺ Κατήγορος] συμπότης lib. All
place κυδαθηνεὺς κύων last, except Vp3⁺ which add κῆρυξ. The order
of the speakers varies in the different MSS.

1 ΣΩΣΙΑΣ] οἰκετ(ης) σωσίας RVBVp3, οἰκε' C (cf. vs. 2, 3, 4), om
Vp2⁺ Οὗτος] υἱος B κακόδαιμων C 2 ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ] οἰκετ(ης)
ξανθ VB, οἰκέτης Vp3, σωσί C, —R, om Vp2⁺ φύλακην Vp2 κατα-
κλύειν Vp2⁺ διδάσκομαι] om V 3 ΣΩ] B (and C at first), —R,
om VVp2⁺, ξανθ Vp3⁺ ἄρα] VC, ἄρα rel. τι] om Vp2⁺ προῦ-
φειλες (προῦ- B) lib. 4 σω Vp3⁺, ξανθ (deleted) B οἴσθα γ']
οἴσθ' B, οἴσθας Vp3⁺ οἶον] οἶ C 5 ΞΑ] —R, om V μικρὸν B
Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ ἀπομερμηρίσαι] V¹, -μερμηρίσαι V 6 ΣΩ] —RV οὖν]
αὖ from ἂν R 7 ταῖν lib. ὕπνου] RV, ἤδη rel. 8 ΞΑ] —R, om
V ἦ] ἦ RVp2, ἦ V, ἦ rel. ἐτεδόν] ἐτεδόν· ἦ τεδόν· Vp2 ἦ] ἦ H
κορυξαντιᾶς (from -ίας) C (;)] (,) C, point RBVp2Vp3, om

VH 9 ΣΩ] —R, om V ἀλλ'] om V ἔχει μέ Vp2⁺
10 ΞΑ] —R, om V 11 ἀρτίως] RV, ἀρτίως (αἰτίως Vp2) τίς rel.
12 τίς] om Vp2⁺ βνλέφαραν (from βυλέφ-) ὑστακτήρ C 14 ΣΩ]
—R, om V 15 ἀτὰρ from αὐτὰρ (?) H ΞΑ]: R, om V, sp Vp3⁺
16 κατα(κατὰ R)πτάμενον lib. εἰς RVVp3⁺ 18 εἰς lib. 19 ἀπο-
λαβεῖν B 20 ΣΩ] —RV, ξα Vp3⁺ ὁδὲν R, οὐδὲ Δ γρίφου] ι by
correction H, γρύφου Vp3⁺ 21 ΞΑ] om lib. (;) and ΣΩ] om lib.
προερεῖ R : after συμπόταις RV λέγω RV 22 τί] ὅτι lib.
ταυτόν] ταυτὸ θηρίον Vp2⁺, ταυτὸν θηρίου Vp3C? ἐν γέ (ἐν γε H) γῆ
Vp2⁺ τ' ἀπέβαλεν] RV, θηρίον B, om Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 23 —R
θηρίον] RV, ἀπέβαλε' B, ἀπέβαλεν Δ, γ' ἀπέβαλε Vp2⁺, τ' ἀπέβαλε Vp3⁺
24 ΞΑ] —RV, σω Vp3⁺ 25 ΣΩ]: RV φροντίσεις C 27 ΞΑ]
—RV 28 σὺ] Vp2 sup. ΣΩ]: RV ἔστιν B, -ι rel. 30 ΞΑ]
—R, om V τι] om Vp3⁺ 31 ΣΩ] —R, om V πνυκί BVp2⁺Vp3⁺
32 ἐκκλησιάζειν] B², -ίαζον B ξυνκαθήμενα Vp2⁺ 33 καί] om
Vp2⁺ 34 τοῖσι προβάτοις RV μούδοκεῖ] V^c, μόνδοκεῖ RVC and
perhaps Vp3 35 δημιγορεῖν R, δημογορεῖν Vp2⁺C? φάλλαινα
RVp2⁺Vp3⁺ 36 φωνήν] ει deleted after φων R ἐμπεπρημένην R,
-πρησμένην V, ἐμπεπνησμένης Vp2 υἱός V, συός Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 37 ΞΑ]
—R, om V ΣΩ]: RV ΞΑ]: RV 38 —R κάκιστο Vp2,
-τα H τοῦν ὕπνιον Vp2 39 ΣΩ] —RV φάλλαιν' RVp2⁺Vp3⁺,
φάλαινα V, -ν' from -να ΔC πρυτάνην Vp2⁺ 40 ἴστη V, ἔστη
Vp3⁺ δῆμον V ΞΑ]: RV 41 —R διῖστανειν BVp2⁺
Vp3⁺ 42 ΣΩ] —R, om V δέ] om Vp2⁺ πλησίον Vp3⁺
45 ὀλᾶς] B², ὀρᾶς B, ὀλὰς Vp2⁺ θέωρος Vp3⁺ κόρακος Vp2⁺Vp3⁺
(and B at first) 46 ΞΑ] —RV 47 ΣΩ] om RV οὔκου] R,
οὔκοῦν R^cVp2⁺ ἀλλώκοτον V 48 ξ before γιγνόμενος H ΞΑ]
: R, om V, σω H ἡκιστά γ' ἀλλ' Vp3⁺ ΣΩ]: RV, ξ H ΞΑ]
: RV, σω H 49 —R, sp Vp3⁺ (in middle of line) ὦν] ἦν BVp2⁺
Vp3⁺ ἐγίνετ' V 50 om V; in its place γιγνόμενος ἡκιστ' re-
peated from 48 οὔκοῦν lib. συμβάλλειν R
51 (;)] Vp2, (,) C, om H, point rel. 52 ΣΩ] —R, om V, σε Vp2⁺
δοὺς] R^c, δὺς R δῦο V ὀβολῶ] ἐσβολῶ C 53 ὑποκρινόμεν Vp2,
ἀποκρίνομεν H σαφῶς BVp2⁺Vp3⁺ ὀνείρατα] οὐ εἴρατα Vp3⁺ 54
ΞΑ] —RV 55 ὀλίγα BVp2⁺ ἄτθ'] ἄττα RV, γ' BVp2⁺, om Vp3⁺
πρώτον] RV, πρότερον rel. αὐτοῖσι Vp2, ταῦτοισι H 56 πάνυ de-
leted after λίαν R 57 κεκλεμένον Δ 58 οὔτε] οὔδε (-ἐ V) RV

καρυὶ V 59 διαρριπτοῦντες RVp2⁺, διαρίπτοῦντες (from -τε] V
 61 αὐτῖς Vp2⁺ ἂν ἀσελγ- V 62 γ'] om Δ ἐλαμψεν R
 64 ἔσχον Vp2⁺, ἔχων C¹, ἔχιν (?) C 65 ἡμῶν B 66 δέ] om
 Vp3⁺ σοφώτερον] first o by correction Vp3 67 ἔστι Vp2, abbr.
 H ἐκείνοσιν H 68 ἄνω] breathing uncertain VB, ἄνω Δ rel.
 (ἀνώ Vp2) 69 πρᾶ' Vp2⁺ ἐπέταξεν V, 'πέταξε Vp2⁺ (first ε by
 correction H), ἐπάταξε Δ ἐπειτα ξενῶν (ξεῶν C) Vp3⁺ 70 καθείρ-
 ξας] RVB, καθεύδειν B²Vp2⁺Vp3⁺, καθείρξαι Vp3γρ (in marg.)
 ξίηι from ξίει R, ξίη V 71 ἀλόκοτον V 72 ἦν Vp3⁺ εἶς] εἶ C
 οὐδ' ἂν] RV, οὐδέ rel. ξυμβάληι R 73 τοπάζεται BVP2⁺Vp3⁺
 74 σω before vs. B Ἀμυνίας] ἀμυνοίας V (corr. V1?) οὐτοσὶν H
 75 : after αὐτόν RV, —B, σω H 76 ΣΩ] om lib. ἀφ' αὐτοῦ] BH,
 ἀφαντοῦ (αφ- R) RVVp2, ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Vp3⁺ τεκμέρεται Δ 77 ΞΑ]
 —R, om V φιλο] φιλόδικος R and Vsup., φίλο V, φιλό B, φίλος H
 ἔστ' (ἐ- H) Vp2⁺ 78 σω before vs. B 79 ΣΩ] Vp3⁺, : RV, om
 BVP2⁺ 80 ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν BVP2⁺Vp3⁺ 81 ΞΑ]—R, om V αὖ]
 ἂν Vp3⁺ σηαμβωνίδης Vp3⁺ 83 ΣΩ] om RV μὰ from μῶ (?) H
 κύν'] B², δί' B 84 γέ] τε Vp3⁺ 85 ΞΑ]—R, om VB 86 δῆπι-
 θυμείτ' R, δ' ἥπι- Vp2⁺ 87 τὴν νόσου Vp3⁺ 88 φήλη (φίλη H)
 λιαστῆς Vp2⁺ 89 τούτου τοῦ] τούτου C στένειν H 90 'πί] om
 RV 91 om Vp2⁺ ὀρᾷ] ἐρᾷ R 92 οὖν] αὖ B καταμηνύσει
 R, καταμύσει Vp2⁺ ἄχνην] R^c, ἄχην R 93 πέτεται] B, πέταται
 Vp2⁺Vp3⁺, πάτεται B1?Δ 94 γ' ἔχουν] ἔχειν γ' VVp3⁺ 95 ἀνύ-
 σταται (?) Vp2 97 δί' from δία (?) V ἦν] ἂν Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ γέ
 from τέ H 98 υἱόν] RV, τόν rel. δῆμου Vp3⁺ 99 ἰὼν] ἰδὼν B
 παρέγραψεν R πλησίον Vp3⁺ κημῖς Vp3⁺ 100 τόν] B, τὴν B²
 ἀλεκτυόνα R, ἀλεκτρύνον Vp2 ἦδεν (ῆ- Vp3⁺) BVP3⁺ ἀφ'] RV,
 ἐφ' rel. ἐσπέρα C

101 ὥς ὅψ' ἐγείρειν B, ὥς ὅψέ γ' εἴρειν Vp2⁺, ὅψ' ἐγείρειν Vp3⁺
 102 παραντῶν V 103 δ'] RV, om rel. δορπηστοῦ] R¹, -πισ- R?V
 κρεκάγεν Vp2 ἐμβάδας] -βάδας in ras. R^c, ἐμβδας V 104 πρῶι RV,
 πρῶι BVP2⁺, πρῶϊ Vp3⁺ 107 βομβύλιος V, βομβυλῖος Vp2⁺ 108
 ὑποπεπλασμένος BVP2⁺Vp3⁺ Vp2⁺ add ροῦ ὡς if part of text 109
 δήσας RH, δῆσας Vp2 (and Vp3 at first?) 110 ἔχη Vp2⁺Vp3⁺
 111 τοιαῦτα λύει RV, τοιαῦτ' ἄ- Vp2⁺, τοιαῦτ' ἀλνει Vp3, τοιαῦτ' ἀλνει
 C ρουτεθούμενος Vp2 113 ἐγκλείσαντες BVP2⁺Vp3⁺ μῆξιηι R
 117 θύραζε V, θῦραζε' Δ 118 καὶ κάθαιρε BVP3⁺, καὶ 'κάθαιρε Vp2⁺,

κακ'κάθαιρ' (but first κ deleted) R, κακκαθαιρ' V ὁ δ' οὐ] RV, καὶ rel. μάλα] μαλκ Vp3⁺ 119 τοῦτ' V, τοῦδ' R, ταῦτ' rel. ἔκορυβαντίαζ' Vp3⁺ 120 εἰς RV κενὸν Vp3⁺ ἔμπεσών] ω from ο Vp3, ἔμπεσάν C 121 δῆτα] δῆ δέ B, δῆ Vp2⁺, δέ Vp3⁺ ταῖς ταύταις Vp3⁺ τελευταῖς V 122 συλλαβών BVp3⁺ 123 ἐξεφρίομεν deleted after αὐτὸν V 124-125 om V, but add V¹ in marg. γιγγλι^δ V¹ 125 οὐκέτ' in ras. B ἐξεφρίομεν RV, ἐξεφρείομεν (-εφείομεν H, -εφρείομεν with ο in ras. B) rel. 126 ἐξεδίδρασκε] -εν V, -ρασκε in ras. B ὕδροροῶν R 128 ἐνιβύσαμεν B, ἐνεβρύσαμεν Vp3⁺ ρακίοισι] B², βακίοισι B 129 αὐτῶ] B¹, αὐ- B rel. 130 ἐς] Vp2, εἰς rel. ἐξήλετο V 131 δεικτύοις Vp2⁺, δικτύοις C 132 φυλάττωμεν Vp2 133 ἔστι VVp2⁺Vp3⁺ 134 Δία] δ' V, δί' Vp3⁺ τωδὶ] RV, τῷδε rel. 135 φρναγμοσεμνακουστίνας V, -ακουστίνους R, φρναγμοσεμνακουστίνους (-σεμνα- C) Vp3⁺, ὀφρναγμοσεμνακουστίνους BVp2⁺ 136 ΒΔΕΛΤΚΛΕΩΝ] —R καὶ Vp3 sup. 137 ΞΑ] οικετ RV, om Vp2, σω H ΣΩ] : R, ἔτ' V, ξ H ΞΑ] om R, : V, σω H 138 περιδραμεῖτε BVp2⁺, -δραμεῖσθον Vp3⁺ ἕτερος Vp3⁺ 139 εἰς lib. εἰσελήλυθεν RB, ἐξελήλυθεν V 140 μῖς πολεῖ (μ by correction) V τι] τίς RVp3⁺, γ' ὅστις Vp2⁺ καταδεδοικῶς R 141 πιελοῦ Vp2⁺, πηέλου (?) C ὅπως] om V μήκδύσεται RV 142 πρόσκεισω Vp2 ΣΩ] B, : R, οἰκέτης R¹ (in marg.) VVp2⁺Vp3⁺ 143 ΒΔ] om R, ὁ δε (i.e. δεσπότης) V 144 φιλ before vs. Vp3⁺ εἶ] om Vp2⁺ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΩΝ] : R, φιλοκλης R¹ in marg., βδ Vp3⁺ 145 ΒΔ] H (in black), —R, om V, φιλ H (in min.) ἴδω] ι from ει H τίνος ξύλου BVp2⁺Vp3⁺ ΦΙ] : RV, β H σικύνου Vp2⁺ (ι by correction Vp2) 146 ΒΔ] —R, om V (but : after 145), φιλ C ὥσπερ R δρυμύτατος Vp2⁺ 147 οὐκ ἐρρήσεις R, οὐκ ἐσερρ- (ἐσ- B) VB, οὐκ εἰσερρ- Vp3⁺, οὐκ ἐερρ- Vp2, οὐκ ἐξερρ- H ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ] ποῦσθη Vp2 150 ἀτάρ] ἀλλ' Vp2⁺ γ' (second)] RV, om rel. 151 νῦν RV καπνιοῦ Vp3 152 ΣΩ] οι(κετης) lib. ὅδε] om RV, παῖ rel. ὥθει lib. ΒΔ] om lib. 154 κατάκλειδος RV, κατακλείδος R^c rel. τοῦ μοχλοῦ] ου in ras. bis B RVp2CB (not Δ) punctuate after μοχλοῦ, no MS. after ἐπιμελοῦ. 155 φύλαττε (-τέ B) θ' RHB, φυλάττεθ' VVp2Vp3, φύλαττεσθ' Δ, φυλάττεσθ' C τήν] τὸν B ἐκτρώζεται Vp2⁺ 156 ἐκφρήσεται] C¹, ἐκφρήγεται C μιάρωτατε Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 157 δικάσοντά] δίκασοντί Vp2⁺ ἀλλ'] οὐκ Vp3⁺ δρακοντίδας Vp2⁺ 158 φέρης Vp2⁺ (;)] B, point VVp2⁺,

om rel. ΦΙ] : R, om rel. 159 παντενομένω C 160 μ'] μή μ' Vp3⁺
 ἀποσκληῖναι] C¹, -σκῆναι C τότε] RVB², ποτέ B rel. 161 BΔ]
 —RV, φιλ rel. ἀποτρόπαιε from ἀπρο- R μαντεύμαντος (ν de-
 leted?) V 162 ΦΙ] om lib. ἔκφρες] ἔφερε Vp2, ἔκφερε rel.
 163 BΔ] —R, om VVp2 164 ΦΙ] —R, om V τοίνυν γ' B¹ sup.
 Vp2⁺ ὁδὰξ R? (but corrected) VVp2⁺C δύκτιον Δ 165 BΔ]
 —RV οὐκ] H¹, οὐχ Vp2H ΦΙ] : RV 166 ἐποκτείναιμι Vp3⁺
 μοι] om Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 167 πινάκιον] C¹, πιράκιον C 168 ἄνθρωπος lib.
 δρασείει] R^o, εἰ δρασει R, δράσει (-α- V) VVp3⁺, δράσειεν B, δράσειε
 Vp2⁺ 169 ΦΙ] —RV τὸν] om Vp3⁺ 170 καθηλίοις] V¹, καθηλίοις V
 171 BΔ] : RV οὐκοῦν lib. καὶν ἐγὼ] καὶτὸς ἂν BVp2⁺ 172 (;)]
 om RVHVp3, point rel. ΦΙ] : RV ὥσπερ] ἄπερ(?) V (possibly
 ὥσπερ) γ'] om RVVp3⁺ 173 BΔ] om R, —V ΦΙ] om lib.
 ἔξαγε from ἐξάγαγε Δ 174 ΣΩ] οἱ (κετης) lib. 175 ἴν' αὐτόν] R,
 ἴνα θάπτον (θάπτον B) rel. BΔ] om R, : V ἔσπασε Vp3⁺ 176 —
 before vs. R ταύτην] ταύτην V, ταῦτα Vp3⁺ 177 μοι from μου V
 179 κλαίεις Vp2⁺ ὅτι] οἶτι C πεπράση B σήμερον V 181 ὁδα-
 σέα Vp3⁺ τινά RVVp3⁺, τινά (τίνα Vp2⁺) γ' BVp2⁺ ΣΩ] : R,
 οἰκετ R¹ (in marg.) rel. Δία] δι' V 183 BΔ] —R, om VVp2⁺
 ἴδωμεν Vp3⁺ : before τουτονί RV, οἱ (κετ) rel. : after τουτονί RV,
 βδ BVp3⁺, no sp Vp2⁺ 184 εἶ] εἶ Vp3⁺ ἄνθρωπ' Vp2⁺Vp3⁺
 ΦΙ] R¹ (in marg.) C¹, : R, sp Vp2, om H, βδ C οὐτις R or R^o (ac-
 cent corrected), οὐ- Vp2, οὐ- rel. 185 BΔ] —RV οὐτις RV, οὔτις
 B, οὔτος rel. (;) after σύ] R, (,) H, om rel. ΦΙ] : —R, : V, om
 Vp2⁺ ἀπὸ (ὑπὸ H) δρασιππίδου (δρασίππδου C) BVp2⁺Vp3⁺
 186 BΔ] —RV, om H οὐτις RV, οὔτις BVp2⁺, οὔτις γε Vp3⁺ γε
 σύ] R^o, γε σὺ ἔσει (ἔση Vp3⁺) RVVp3⁺, γ' ἔσει Vp2⁺, γ' ἔση B
 188 ὑποδέδυκεν] ὑ by correction Vp2Vp3 ἰδάλλεται Vp2⁺ 189 ὁμοι-
 ότατος] H?, ὁ by correction Vp3, ὁμοιάτατος H¹? and (-ατά-) Vp2
 κλητῆρος] κλη in ras. B, κρατῆρος Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 190 ἑάσεθ'] B¹Vp3C¹,
 ἑάσετ' R, ἑάσεσθ' V, ἑάσηθ' BVp2⁺, ἑάσθ' C ἡσύχως RV 191 BΔ]
 —R, om V μάχη B, μάχει rel. ΦΙ] : RV 192 BΔ] om R,
 —V 193 ΦΙ] —RV δία V οἶσθα] οἶαθα Vp3⁺ 194 : be-
 fore ἀλλ' R 196 BΔ] —R, om V ἐς] Vp2⁺, εἰς rel. 197 om
 Vp3⁺ ΦΙ] —R, om V 198 BΔ] —R, om V, φιλ Vp3⁺ κέκραθι
 V κεκλησμένης Vp3⁺, κεκλεισμένης (-μένος B) rel. 200 ἔμβαλλε]
 B, -βαλε Δ rel. εἰς lib.

202 προσκύλιε RVP₃⁺, προσκύλιέ γ' BVP₂⁺ ΣΩ] sp R, οικετ R¹
(in marg.) rel. οἷμοι] V, ὦ ι μοι R, ὦμοι (ὠμοι Vp₂) rel.
203 βώλιον lib. 204 ΒΔ] —R, ετερος οἰκέτ V, οἰκετ' ετ' B (cor-
rected from οἰκέτ?), οι(κετ) rel. ἀνέβαλέ B σοί] συ V 205 ΣΩ]
—RV, ἄλλος οἰκέτ B, οι(κετ) rel. ὑποδύμενός] ὑ from α H οὔτοσιν
H 207 ΒΔ] —R, om V, ξανθ B, οι(κετ) rel. στρουθὸς ἀνὴρ lib.
γίγνεται] VP₂⁺, γίν- rel. 208 ποῦ only once H μοι] μου RV
210 — before vs. R τούτου] τοῦδε VP₂⁺VP₃⁺, τοῦ τούτου Δ
211 ΣΩ] B, —RV, οι(κετ) rel. νυν] δὴ V τοῦτον VP₂⁺ 212 κούκ
ἔσθ'] κούσθ' VP₂⁺ διαδύς] R^c, διαδύση R ἔτι λάθοι] ἐπιλάθοι R
213 ἀπεκοιμήθημεν] οι from υ V, ἐκοιμήθημεν B ὅσον only once VP₂⁺
214 ἤξουσιν] letter deleted after η R 215 συνδικασταὶ BVP₂⁺
VP₃⁺ παρακαλοῦν VP₃⁺ 216 ΣΩ] : RV, ξανθ B, οι(κετ) rel.
γ'] om RVP₂⁺VP₃⁺ ὄρθος B, ὄρθροι VP₃⁺ βαθύς] βα VP₃⁺
217 ΒΔ] —RV γοῦν] γὰρ RVP₃⁺ νῦν] γε BVP₂⁺ 218 γε]
RV, om rel. παρακαλοῦντες μ' αἰεί BVP₂⁺ 220 ἀρχαῖα] R,
ἀρχαιο- rel. —μελησιδωνο(-σιδωρο- VP₂⁺) φρυγικήρατα(-χάρατα VP₃⁺)
lib. (dot under first η R, ω from ο V) 221 ἐκαλοῦνται Δ, ἐκβαλοῦνται
VP₃⁺ ΣΩ] : R, om V, οι(κετ) rel. 222 om C — before vs.
R βαλλήσομεν] H¹, βαλήσομεν B, βαλλήσομαι H 223 ΒΔ] —R,
om V τὸ] πὸ VP₂ 224 ὁμοῖον VB 225 ὄσφυίος V¹, ὄσφυίος V
226 ᾧ] δ R καὶ] om R 227 βάλλωσιν V, -ουσι VP₂ φέψαλλοι VP₂⁺
228 ΣΩ] ξανθ R, —V, οι(κετ) rel. ἐὰν] ἐάνπερ BVP₂⁺ 230 ΧΟ-
ΡΟΣ] χο γεροντ RBVP₃, χο σφηκῶν V Κωμία] ακμία (ἀ- C) VP₃⁺
231 —R μέντοι] two letters del. after μέν C ἱμᾶς VP₂⁺, ἡμᾶς VP₃⁺
232 κρείττον VVP₂⁺ χαριννάδης B, χάριν νάδης Δ 233 κονδυλεῦ
B 234 ἀρ'] δ' VP₂⁺ Χάβης] RV, χάρης rel. 235 δὴ] om
BVP₂⁺ γ'] om RBVP₂⁺ ἔτ'] RV, om rel. ἀππαπαῖ] ἀππα-
παῖ (ἀπαπαῖ VP₂, ἀπαπαῖ H) παπαῖ BVP₂⁺ παππαιάξ VP₃⁺
237 φρουροῦν V περιπατοῦντε] final ε by correction VP₃, -ται V
239 ἤψομεν] RV, ἤψαμεν rel. κορκούρου Δ 240 ἀγκονῶμεν VP₃⁺
ἄνδρες VP₂⁺VP₃⁺ ἐστιν V 241 σίμβολον V, σίβλον VP₂, σίμβου-
λον VP₃⁺ φασι] φη/ R, φ^a V sup. 242 —R 244 κολωμένους]
κολωμενος V^c, χολούμενος V, κολουμένους VP₂⁺VP₃⁺, καλουμένους RB
ἀλλά] ἄλλα (with point following, not preceding) V, ἀλλὰ γὰρ rel.
245 σπεύσωμεν RV ἄνδρες B 246 λύχνω R² sup. πάντη] R,
ταύτη B, πάντη B² rel. 247 λίθος] V, λαθών rel. ἡμᾶς ἐμποδῶν BVP₂⁺

Vp3⁺ 248 ΠΑΙΣ] Vp2⁺Vp3 (and B at first, but corrected to παῖδες), παῖ C, —R, om V τὸν] ὦ τὸν RVVp3⁺, παῖς τὸν (preceded by παῖς in minium) H πάτερ once only H τουτονὶ] σὺ τουτονὶ lib. 249 XO] —R, om V, εἰς τῶν γερόντων ὁ καὶ πῆρ' B χαμᾶθέν] RB¹Δ¹?, χαμᾶσθεν BΔ, χαμάθεν Vp3⁺, χαμόθεν rel. νυν] σὺ νῦν Vp2⁺ λαβὼν] λαβὼν σὺ RBVp3⁺ πρόμυξον] προβύσον V, προβύς Vp2⁺, πρόβυσον rel. 250 ΠΑ] παῖς HVp3, παῖδες B, πα(ι) Vp2C, —RV μοι] V, μοι γε (οιγ in ras.) R, μοί (μοι) γε νῦν rel. προβύσσειν Δ 251 XO] —R, om V, πῆρ' B τήν] σὺ τήν B θρυαλίδ' V, θριαλ- λίδ' Vp2⁺ 252 ὠνόητε] V, νῦν ὠ'νόητε σὺ B, ὠνόητε (ὠ 'ν-) σὺ rel. 253 δέη] δέη τί B 254 ΠΑ] παῖς H, παῖ Vp2, παῖδες BVp3⁺, —RV νῆ] ρή C κονδύλοις] Vp2⁺, -οισιν V, -οισι V^c rel. νουθετήσεται' RV 255 ἄπειμεν V 256 σκότω γε B τουτοῖ V 257 πηλὸν] letter deleted after π C ἄτταγᾶς] ἄτταγᾶς που B, ἄτταγῆς Vp3⁺ 258 XO] om RV, πῆρ' B σοῦ] B², σε B χᾶτέρους γε B 259 οὐτοσί] B², οὐ ποσὶν B μοι] μὴ R βάρβαρος V, βόρβορος νῦν B πατοῦντα V 260 κοῦκ ἔσθ'] χοῦσθ' Vp2⁺ ἡμερῶν γε B πλείστον] om Vp3⁺ 261 ἔχει δὴ τὸν B ποῆσαι R 262 γοῦν δὴ B τοῖσιν] R, -σι rel. μύκητες] μυοῦντες Vp3⁺ 263 δ'] δέ Vp3⁺ ὅταν γ' B ἦι τουτὶ (τοῦτο B) lib. ποιεῖν] ποεῖν (ποιεῖν V) ὁ ζεὺς RV υἱετὸν V 264 ἐστι Δ πρῶια RV, πρῶιμα rel. 265 κάπιπνεῦσαι δὴ B 266 — R αρα V οὐκ] οὐκ' R, οὐ Vp2⁺, ὁ 'κ Δ οἰκίας γε B 267 φαίνεται νῦν B 268 ἦν] ἦν ὁδ' B 269 ἂν ἔδων] RV, ἀνάδων rel. φρυγί- χου τί B ἔστι γ' Vp3⁺ ἀνῆρ lib. 270 δοκεῖ νῦν B 271 ἐκκα- λεῖν] V, ἐκβαλεῖν rel. ἔάν B τί] om Vp2⁺ πως] παῖς Vp2⁺ 272 ἐρπύση] V, ἐξερπύση rel. 273 χο before vs. R, μέλος χοροῦ Vp3⁺ 274 οὐδ'] V^c, δ' V 275 προσέκοψ' ἐν] προσέκοψεν RV, -έκοψε rel. που from μου C 276 ἐφλέγμηνες Vp3⁺ τὸ] τὸν V 277 H has γεῖ before καὶ, Vp2 γει after βουβωνιώη καὶ δὴ B δρυ- μύτατος RH 278 ἂν ἐπείθεται'] R, ἂν ἐπείθετο Vp2⁺, ἂν ἐπείθε τ' Vp3⁺, ἀνέπειθε τ' V, ἀνεπείθετο B 279 ὁπότεν B κάτω] κτω Vp3, κτω C 280 ἔψεις ἔλεγεν] ἐψεῖ σε λέγων R ἔλεγε HVp3⁺ 281 χθεσινόν γ' BVp2⁺, χθεσινὸν rel. διεδύετο B 282 ἐξ ἀπατῶν R φιλαθηναῖος Vp2⁺ 283 τοῦτ'] τοῦτο Vp3⁺ 285 ἀνῆρ lib. 286 οὔτω] οὔπω V 287 σαυτὸν BVp2⁺ 288 ταχὺς R 289 ἐγχυτρίεις] RV, αἰσχυνεῖς (αἰσχηνεῖς Vp2) ἐγχυτρίεις rel. 290 — before vs. R, ἐκ τῶν γερόντων Vp3⁺ ὑπαγ' from ἀπαγ' (?) C ὦ] εὖ Vp2⁺ 291 ΠΑ]

παῖς B, παῖδες Vp3⁺,* —RV, om Vp2⁺ 292 ἦν] ἦ C 293 XO]
—RV, πῆρ' B 294 με] γε H 296 δῆποθεν Vp2 297–298 (μὰ
Δί' . . . γ' ὑμεῖς) om H ΠΑ] —RV παππία] Vp2, παπία rel.
298 XO] —R, om V, πῆρ' B μὰ τὸν δι' BVp2 κρέμεσθε V, κρέ-
μοισθέ rel. ὑμεῖς from ἡμεῖς V 299 ΠΑ] —R, om V οὐκ ἄρα B
(and H¹), οὐχ ἄρα Vp2H 300 XO] —R, om VVp2⁺, πῆρ' B με
τοῦ] om Vp2⁺ μισθαρίου νῦν B, μισθαρίου νῦν Vp2⁺
301 αὐτόν τε (τ' Vp2⁺) BVp2⁺ 302 κῶψον] κόψων Vp2⁺ ἐξ
om lib. δέ] δέ νῦν BVp2⁺ αἰτεῖς] αὐτεῖς Vp2, αὐτοῖς H 303 ΠΑ]
—R, om V 304 ἄρχων RVp3⁺, ὥρχων VVp2⁺, ὥρχων B 305 σν
before vs. Vp2⁺ καθέση R ὠνησόμεσθ' B 307 νῶϊν R 308 Ἑλ-
λας] V?, ἐλάς R, ἐλλάς Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ ἱερὸν RVp2⁺ ἐλλάστερον B
εὐρεῖν] om lib. 309 XO] —R, om V, λ (i.e. χ) H, πῆρ' B ἄ
παπαῖ H, ἀπαπαῖ Vp3⁺, ἀπαπαῖ B ἀπαπαῖ φεῦ (second)] om lib.
310–311 om C, but add in marg. C¹ οὐκ] οὐκουν B, οὐκοῦν Vp2,
οὐκοῦν H 311 οἶδ'] οἶδ' Vp2⁺ ὄθεν BVp2⁺ 312 ΠΑ] —RV
μᾶτερ B 313 XO] om lib. βόσκειν] B², βοσκεῖν VVp3⁺, βόσκει B
παρέχης] R¹V¹, -έχεις RVVp2, -έχοις H 314 ΠΑ] —R, om VB,
χο Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ ἀνώνητον (ω from ο?) R, ἀνόγητον H ἄρ'] γ' ἄρα
σ' BVp2⁺, ἄρα σ' rel. σ'] γ' lib. 316 — before ἐξ V, παῖς H,
παῖδες Vp3, παι Vp2C νῶϊν R 317 πάλαι μὲν τήκομαι BVp2⁺
318 ἀλλὰ γάρ] ἀλλ' ἀτάρ V, ἀλλ' BVp2⁺ 319 ποήσω V τηροῦ-
μαι δ'] τηροῦμ' BVp2⁺ τῶνδ' ἐπεὶ] τῶνδε καὶ BVp2⁺ 320 πά-
λαι] BVp2⁺, πάλαι πάνυ B² rel. 322 ποῆσαι RV 323 Ζεῦ (sec-
ond)] om lib. μέγα βρόντα RVp2⁺ (and Δ at first?), μεγαβρόντα
rel. ἦ] B², καὶ BVp2⁺ ποίησον καπνὸν] καπμὸν (καπτὸν H) ποίησον
Vp2⁺ πόησον RV 325 Προξενίδην] V, προξενιάδην rel. 326 τὸν
R^c sup. ψευδαμάμαξιν] B, ψευδομ- rel. 327 τίμησον Vp3⁺ (ι by
correction C) : after ἄναξ R 328 οἰκτείρας lib. ἦ με] ἦλθε
Vp3⁺ 329 σπόνδισον V, σπόνδησον BΔ (dot under first ν B), πόννε-
σον Vp3⁺ 331 ἐνβαλε R 332 δῆτ' ἄλιθον V πόησον RV 333 ἀρι-
θμοῦσι] Vp3⁺, -σιν rel. 334 ἔστ' R ταῦτά σ'] ταύτας B εἵργων
lib. κατακλείων V, κάποκλείων rel. τῇ θύρᾳ] V, τὰς θύρας rel.

* In subsequent assignments of the boys' lines the MSS. vary between παῖς and παῖδες. B regularly has παῖς (except in 316 where there is no change of speaker), Vp3 has παῖδες except in 312 (παῖς), Vp2⁺C abbreviate π(αι) (except H in 316); R and V nowhere name the speaker of these lines.

- 336 ΦΙ] —R 337 πρόσθε V, πρόσθων Vp2⁺ 338 XO] —RV
 ἐφέξιν] R, ἐφέξειν rel. 339 καί] om lib. 340 ΦΙ] om RV ὧδες
 Vp2 and (ὧδ-) C 341 ἐτοίμως Vp2⁺ ἔσθ' R, ἐστιν Vp3⁺
 342 XO] —RV Δημολογοκλέων] B², δημολόγ κλέων V, δαμολογο-
 κλέων B ὅδ' om lib. 343 ὅτι] B² γρ, εἴπερ BVp2⁺ σύ] om lib.
 τι] om BVp2⁺ ἀληθές ἀν BVp2⁺ (;) BVp2⁺Vp3⁺, point R, om
 V 344 ἀν] om RVp3⁺ ἀνῆρ lib. ἐτόλμησεν] Vp3, -σε VVp2⁺
 Vp3¹ 345 ξυνωμότης] ω from ο R, ξυνωμάτης Vp2⁺ 346 χ before
 vs. Vp2⁺ τούτων] πάντων R 347 σε] ε by corr. C λάθρα] R, -α rel.
 τούανδρός Vp2 τοῦδε lib. δεῦρο ποιήσει] χειροποιήσει Vp3⁺ ποιήσει
 RV 348 ΦΙ] —R εἶην B ζητεῖθ'] ζη- from ζεν- C, ζητεῖσθ' V
 ἡμεῖς Vp2⁺ ἀν] om lib. ποοίην RV, ποιήμην B, ποιησάμην Δ,
 ποιοίμην rel. 349 χοιρίνης] χοινίνης Vp2⁺, χρόνον Vp3⁺ 350 XO]
 om R ὅπη] ὅπη(ι) RVp2⁺, ὅπη V, ὅπη Vp3⁺ τ'] τε lib. εἷης]
 R, ἦ B, ἦς B² rel. (ἦς V)
 351 ἐκδῶναι Vp2⁺ ῥάκεσιν] R^c, ῥάκεσσιν R, -εσι rel. κρυ-
 φθός Vp3⁺ 352 ΦΙ] —RV πέφρακται lib. κοῦκ ἔστιν] κοῦστιν
 Vp2H¹, οὔστιν H διαδοῦναι Δ 353 ἡμᾶς Vp3⁺ ὁποῖαν H ἔστιν
 C 354 XO] om R, —V μέμνησαι] R¹, -σε R ὀβελίσκους] om
 Vp2⁺ 355 κατὰ τοῦ] κατ αὐτοῦ V ταχέως] RVB², om B rel.
 ὅτε] ὅτε δὴ γ' ἡ BVp2⁺ point after ἐάλω] RVp2, (;) BVp3⁺, om
 VH 356 ΦΙ] om R, —V τοῦτ' οὐδέν] τούδέν C ἔστ' RVVp2⁺
 ἐκεῖνο R 357 ἰσχυόν] ἰσχυρόν Vp2⁺ 358 ἐφύλατ' RVp2, -ττε V
 359 ξυνόπλους V 360 ἀνδρ' H 363 κλέψασαν] B², κλέψοντα B
 365 XO] om V τάχισθ'] θ by correction V, -ιστ' R, -ιστα BVp2⁺
 366 μελίτιον VVp3⁺ 367 ΦΙ] —R, om V 368 δίκτυνα RB²Vp3⁺,
 δικτύνα B ἔχει Δ 369 XO] om R, —V ἐστιν Vp3⁺ ἐς from
 εἰς (?) Vp3 σωθηρίαν Vp2⁺ 370 τήν] δὴ τήν σήν BVp2⁺ 371 ΦΙ]
 —R, om V διατέτρωται τοῦ γ' Vp3⁺ 372 τηρώμεθ' BVp2⁺ ὅπω
 R βδελικλέων C 373 XO] —R, om V τᾶν] τᾶν V, τὰν
 BH δέδιθ' R, δειδιθι V τοῦτόν] το Vp3⁺ 374 ποήσω RV
 377 πατῇ Vp3⁺ 378 τῶν θῶν (corr. from θῶν) R, ταῖν θεαῖν rel.
 379 ἐξαψάσας (first σ from σθ?) Δ θυρίδος from θυρίδα V καλῶδιον]
 RV, -ώ- rel. καθίμω V 381 ΦΙ] —RV ἦν V¹ sup., εἰ Vp2⁺
 αἰσθομένω R ζητεῖτον Vp2⁺ με Δ ἐσκαλαμᾶσθαι] V, ἐγκ- R,
 καλαμᾶσθαι Δ, ἐκκαλ- rel. 382 κὰν ἄσπαστον V, κᾶνασπᾶτόν Δ ποεῖν
 R ἔσω V ποήσε' V 383 XO] —R, om V ἄπατες C 384 εἶρ-

γειν lib., followed by punctuation in RB ἔσται] V, τα R, τὰ rel.;
no MS. punctuates here ποήσομεν RV 385 ΦΙ] R^o, —R, om
V τοίνυν γ' BVP₂⁺ τι Vp₃ sup. 386 κατακλαύσαντες] V,
κλαύσαντες rel. (κλαυ from καυ B) με] με γ' B ὑπὸ] ἐν Vp₂⁺
τοῖσιν V δρυφράκτοις BVP₂ 387 XO] —R, om V πείση
VVP₃⁺ δείσης] εἰ from η (?) R 388 θαρῶν RVp₃⁺ τοῖς Vp₂⁺
θεοῖσι VVP₃⁺ 389 ΦΙ] —R, om V ἐγὼ κεχάρησαι] ἐκκεχάρησαι
Vp₃⁺ κεχάρηται R, κεχαρῆς V 390 δακρύοισι RVVP₃⁺, δακρύοις
Vp₂⁺ αἰεῖ B 391 ἐνταῦθα Vp₃⁺ ταῦτ'] om Vp₂⁺ ἀκροῶς
Vp₂⁺, ἀκροῶο Vp₃, ἀκροῶ C 392 κλέοντα H 394 ἀποπαρδῶ R,
-παρδῶ rel. 395 ΒΔ] —R ἀγείρου (?) Vp₃, ἀγείρος C ΞΑ]
om R, οἰ(κετ) rel. πᾶγμα RVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ ΒΔ] om R, : V μέ
τις] τις μ' Vp₂⁺ (τις over μέ Vp₃⁺) ἐγκέκλωται Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 396 ΞΑ]
—R, om V, οἰ(κετ) rel. πῇ RV, πῇ Vp₂, πῇ rel. αὖ] om lib.
(but cf. Vp₂⁺) ΒΔ] om R, : V οὐ μὰ δι' οὐ Vp₂⁺ : — before
ἀλλὰ R^e (no sp) 397 αὐτόν] B, αὐ- Δ rel. δέισας Vp₃⁺ ΞΑ] :
RV, οἰ(κ) rel. ποεῖς RV καταβήσει] V¹?, -ση RV? 398 ΒΔ]
—R, om V ἀνύσας from ἀννύ- C ταῖσι lib. 399 ἦν] εἴ V
πρύμναν lib. ἀνακρούρηται V, ἀνακούσῃται Vp₃⁺ 400 ΦΙ] om
VVP₃⁺ συλλήψεσθ' Vp₂⁺ ὁπόσοισι] V, ὁπόσοι RVp₃⁺, ὁπόσοις
rel.

401 —R, φι VVP₃⁺ Τεισιάδῃ] σιτιάδῃ Vp₂⁺, τισιάδῃ rel. 402 δ']
τ' R 403 μοι] om Vp₃⁺ μέλομεν V ἐκείνη R τὴν χολὴν . . .
τὴν (404)] om Vp₂⁺ σχολὴν Vp₃⁺ 404 ἰσφηκίαν Vp₂⁺, σφηκίαν
rel. 405 τὸν' ξύθυμον H 406 κέντρυν Vp₂⁺ 408 θαιμάτια R^o
Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺, θ'αἰμ- R?V, θαιμ- B βαλόντες] B², λαβόντες B rel.
παιδία] τὰ παιδία RV 409 θεῖ τε (ras. after θεῖ?) R, θεῶτε Vp₃⁺
Κλέωνι] ἐλέωνι V ἀγγέλετε VΔ 411 ὥς from ὥστ' Vp₂ 412 καὶ
πολούμενον V 413 εἰσφέρει Vp₃, εἰσφέρει rel. 414 μῇ] ὥς χρή μῇ
lib. 415 ὦ αγαθοὶ V ἀκούσατε V κεκράγετε BVP₂⁺ 416 Δί']
δία R, δία γ' V εἰς RVVP₃⁺ ΒΔ] om lib. τοῦδ'] τὸν δε γ' V,
τόνδ' rel. 417 XO] B, —R, om V, βδ rel. δῆτ'] δη γ' V ἐστὶ
V, abbr. H 418 ημιχ RVp₃⁺, χο BVP₂⁺ πόλι RVVP₃⁺ θεὸς
ἐχθρία RV, θεοεχθρία B, θεοσεχθρία rel. 419 ἡμῶν] Vp₃⁺, ὑμῶν rel.
420 ἔχουσι V 421 Γ begins with this vs. ΒΔ] om RV φίλι-
πον R τὸν] τοῦ Δ 422 XO] —R, om Vp₃⁺ σέ γ'] σ' Vp₃⁺
αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς V, αὐτῖς rel. ἀλλ' ἅπας lib. (ἀλλ' ἅπας R, ἀλλὰπας V)

- 423 καὶ ξείρας Γ, καξάρας Β 424 εὐτάκτως Η ἐμπλήμενος] Β²,
 -πλησμένοις ΒVp₃⁺, -πεπλήσμενος Vp₂, -πεπλησμένοις Η 425 σμήνος
 from μῆνος C ὥργησεν R, ὥργια Γ, ὥργισε Vp₃⁺, ὥργισαν Δ
 426 ΞΑ] οἶκετ βδελ V μέντοι] μέν γε Β νή] ν C 427 κεντριῖδας R
 428 ἄνδρα Vp₃⁺ 429 χελάνας Vp₃⁺ μακαρίζειν V σε] from σι R,
 om V 430 εἶα] BVp₂⁺, εἶα εἶα VVp₃⁺, εἶα εἶα R, εἶα εἶα ΓB²
 νυν] om ΓB², νῦν γ' BVp₂⁺, νῦν rel. συνδικασταὶ Vp₂⁺ ὀξυκάριοι]
 ὀξυνόδιοι Vp₃⁺ 431 εἰς lib. εἰπέτεσθ' R, εἰσπέσεται Γ, εἰσπέτεσθ'
 rel. 432 ὕν] om lib. κύκλῳ (second υ deleted?) Vp₂ κεν-
 τέιτε καὶ] κεντεῖθ' οἱ δὲ (οἱ δε Vp₃⁺) lib. 433 βοηθεῖτε lib. Μασιν-
 τία] V, μανσυντία (υ from ι) Δ, μασύντία C, μασυντία rel. 434 λά-
 βεσθε] BVp₂H¹, λάβετε Η, βάλεσθε (-λλ- V) rel. τουτουὶ] B¹, του-
 τονὶ BΔVp₃⁺ μεθήσθε] η in ras. B, μεθεῖσθε Γ 435 μή ὕν] the in-
 tent of B²? (ὕν over μή), μὴν RVΓ, μὴ B rel. πέδαις] παῖδαις Vp₂
 H¹, παῖδες Η ταχείαις RH οὐδὲν] αὐτὸν Γ and B² (but deleted)
 436 θριῶν R, θυῖων C 437 XO] V, om rel. μεθήσης ΓB ἔν] ἐν
 lib. τί] τη τι Vp₃⁺ (from τησι C) σοι] σὶ Γ παγήσεται] Γ^c,
 -τε Γ 438 κέκροψ' RC δράκονδη C 439 περιοραοῖς V με
 Vp₂⁺ χεῖνόμενον C 440 οὐς] ὡς Vp₃⁺ δίδαξα Vp₃⁺ τετα-
 γάρ R, τέτταρα V 441 ημιχ R (cf. Vp₃⁺ before 442) ἔνεστιν R,
 abbr. Η τῷ] τᾷ Vp₃⁺ 442 ημιχ before vs. Vp₃⁺ 444 κάξομίδων
 Vp₃⁺ αὐτοῖς] B², om B ἡμπόλλα Γ 445 κύνας V 446 ῥι-
 γῶν] ῥιγόντ' R, ῥιγῶν γ' rel. τούτοις] -σ from -ν(?) R, τούτοι Δ
 οὐκ ἔνι] Γ^R γρ, ἔνι Γ 447 οὐδ' ἐν] οὐδὲν RVΓVp₃⁺ ἐμβάθων Vp₃⁺
 449 οὐδ' οὐτ' R ὅθ' ὅτ' R βρότρως R κλέπτοντας V 450 πρὸ
 ἀγαγῶν V, πρὸς σαγαγῶν Vp₃⁺ πρὸς] πρὸν C ἐλαίαν (ἐ- V) VB
 Vp₂⁺
 453 XO] —R δώσετε Β 454 οἶός] V, οἶον rel. ἐστὶν V
 τρόπους V 456 παῖε] παῖε R, παῖ' V παῖ'] from παῖε C ὦ]
 εὖ Vp₂⁺ τοὺς] from του R, τὰς Γ 457 om Η τοῦτο Γ τύφε
 lib. 458 ΣΩ] —R No MS. punctuates after σοῦσθ' οὐκ
 (first)] om BVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 459 ΞΑ] οἶκετ R προθεῖς C αἰσχύνην
 ΔVp₃⁺ (and Η at first?) σελαρτίου VB²Vp₂⁺Vp₃, σελαρτοῦ (?)C,
 σελαντίου Β 460 — before vs. R 461 ΒΔ] —R, om V,
 χο rel. αὐτοὺς from αὐτὸς C 462 μελῶν] R, μελεῶν V, μελέων
 rel. τῶν] B², om BVp₂⁺ 463 XO] V, om Vp₂⁺, ημιχ rel.
 464 τυραννὶς Vp₃ 465 λάθρα lib. ἐλάνθαν'] -νεν (ε by correction)

Γ, ἐλάμβαν' R 466 —R, ημιχ ΓΒ πόνω πόνηρε] VΓ, πονωπόνηρε
 rel. κομημυνία Δ 469 εὐτραπέλου V 470 μόνος] χρόνον Vp3⁺
 471 κατόξίας (or -όξείας?) B² γρ, κατοξίας R, ἀταξίας B 472 ἔλθοιμεν]
 V, ἔλθωμεν rel. (but ω by correction Vp2) 473 XO] —R σοὺς] σοὶ
 lib. 474 ἐρασταὶ Vp3⁺, -ὰ from -ὰς Δ 477 ὑπύνην Vp2⁺ 478 ἦ
 μοι] B², οἶμαι B τοῦ] το C 479 κακακοῖς R 480 XO] ημιχ
 RΓΒ, om V μὴν] μέν γ' lib. (εν by correction Γ) σοῦστί] V,
 ποῦ 'στιν rel. 482 ξυνήγονος C 483 ταῦτά] B² (ταῦτα)?, om Γ,
 ταῦτα B rel. καταντλεῖ from καντ- R, καντατλή Γ καλεῖ RVVp2⁺
 484 ΒΔ] om V ἄρ' R, ἄρα (ἀρὰ V) γ' rel. ᾧ] R, om rel. τῶν]
 om H θῶν Vp2 ὑμεῖς] Δ, ὕ- from ἡ- (?) B, ἡμεῖς Γ ἀπαλλαχθεῖτέ]
 B, ἀπαλλαχθῆτε VVp3⁺ and perhaps H, ἀπαλλάχθητέ Γ, ἀπαλλά-
 χθειτε B² μου] ΓΒ², μοι B rel. 485 δόδεκταὶ Vp2 486 XO] om
 VVp2⁺ οὐδέποτε' ἐγ' Γ 487 ὅστι Γ τυρρανίδ' C ᾧδ'] om
 lib. 488 ΒΔ] blurred or deleted R, om V ἀπαθ' Vp3⁺ ἡμῖν
 RVp3⁺ τυραννίς] B, ἡ τυραννίς ΓΒ², τυρραννίς Vp3, τυρρανίς C
 489 μείζον τ' ἢν τ' R κατηγορεῖ V¹ (ει by correction) ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺
 490 σὺν δε R? πεντήκοτ' Γ 492 κυκλινδεται Vp3⁺ 493 ἦν] ἡ
 Vp3⁺ ὠνῆται] RVΓ, ὠνηταί (or -ται) rel. ὀρφῶς] B, ὀρθῶς H,
 ὀρφῶς rel. δε] ἐς C θέλη(ι) lib. (η by correction Vp2) 494 εὐ-
 θέως] εὐλέως Vp3⁺ ὁ] ὦ Vp2Vp3⁺ (and H at first) πωλῶν] Γ^o
 Vp3¹C¹, πολῶν ΓVp2Vp3C πλησίον Vp3⁺ 495 ἔοιχ'] RV, ἔοικ'
 rel. ἄνθρωπος lib. τυραννίδη; Vp2⁺ 496 προσαιτεῖ R and Γ
 or Γ^o ἡδυσμαίτι (-μαίτι? C) Vp3⁺, ἡδύσματι Δ 497 ἦ] ἡ Vp3⁺
 λαχανόπωλις] ο from ω Γ περιβλέψασα Γ θάτέρω B, θαττέρω C
 498 αἰτεῖ γ' Γ, αἰταῖς C (;) after αἰτεῖς ΓVp2⁺ 499 σοὶ] σὺ
 Vp3⁺ φέρειν from φέροις (?) Γ^o 500 μεσομβρίας Vp3⁺
 501 ὅτι] add με sup. B² κέλευον RVΓ, ἐκέλευον Vp2 ὀξυθυμη-
 θεῖσά] Γ², ὀξυθυμησά Γ, ὀξὺ θυμηθεῖσα H, ὀξυθυμηθεῖσα Vp3⁺ 502 ἡρέτ'
 εἰ H, ἡρέτει H¹ 503 τούτοις] Γ^o, οὕτως Γ, τούτις (?) Δ ἡδέα γ' BVp2⁺,
 ἡδέα rel. εἰ] om Γ 504 πῶ Vp3⁺ ὁτιῆ lib. 505 ὀρθο- lib.
 506 ἔχω] ω by correction H, ἔχων RΓVp3⁺ 507 δρᾶν] δραῦ Vp3⁺
 τυραννικά] V, -ίδα rel. 508 γ'] by correction Δ, om ΓVp3⁺ :
 after γ' R γάρ] Γ^o, om Γ οὐδ' ἂν] οὐδὲν Γ 509 με] B¹ sup.,
 μέν H 510 ἐγχελίσιν V, ἐγχέλυσιν rel. After ἂν Vp2⁺ have
 ἐψημένων as if part of text. 511 πεπηγμένον R 512 ΒΔ] —RV
 εἰσθίσθης Vp2⁺ πράγμασι ΓΔ? 513 ε deleted before ἀλλ' R

μάθησ' Vp2⁺ ἀγώ] 'γώ Vp2⁺, ἄπερ Vp3⁺ 514 ἀναδιδάξειν Γ
οἴομαι σ'] οἶμαι σ' V, σ' οἴομαι γ' BVp2⁺, σ' οἴομ' Vp3⁺ letter de-
leted after σ' and after ὡς Γ ταῦτα Vp3⁺ 515 In R — ἐξαμαρ-
τάνω διδάσκων was first written and deleted (except —), then in a
new line the correct form ΦΙ] om R (second time) V?Vp2⁺
BΔ] : R 516 υπαῖεις V ὑπ'] ἐπ' ΓVp3⁺ 518 ἄρχω τῶν] Γ^c,
ἄρτων Γ ἀλλυπηρετεῖς Vp3, ἀλυπηρ- C 519 ἄρχειν] εἰ by cor-
rection Γ ἐπιδίδαξον V 520 'στί σοι] τι σο (or σοι) V 521 ΦΙ]
—R, om V θέλω lib. BΔ] : RV letter (λ?) erased after μὴν R
522 — before vs. R νυν] τοίνυν Vp3⁺ ΦΙ] om lib. γέ] δέ Vp3⁺
523 — before vs. R γάρ] R^c, om R 524 BΔ] —R, om rel.
μῆνυμένης (?) R, μῆ 'μυμένης V, μῆμυμένης Vp3, μῆμυμένης C 525 ΦΙ]
—R, om V πίοιμι V 526 XO] —R δῆ] Vp3⁺, δέ rel. θημέτρον
Vp3⁺, θῆμετέρου VB, θ'ἡμ- rel. 527 γυμνασίου V λέγειν τί δεῖ lib.
528 καὶ νὸν VVp2 φανήση B, φανείση Vp2+Vp3⁺ add γενναῖος
Vp2⁺ 529 BΔ] corrected from χ Vp2⁺ μοι Γ sup. κίστην]
κακίστην R 530 χο lib. 531 ταῦτα] ταῦτ' (ταυτα V) αὐτὰ (-a R)
RVΓVp3⁺ 532 XO] V, om rel. 533 τόνδε λέγειν lib. 534 ἔστ'
RVΓVp3⁺ ἀγών (ἀνγών C) lib. 536 καὶ εἶπερ Vp3⁺ γένοιθ']
γένοιτο νῦν lib. 537 σ'] om lib. 538 λέξῃ γ'] λέξης B γράψο-
μαι 'γώ] BVp2⁺, γράψομ' ἐγώ Δ rel. 542 σκοπτόμενοι Vp3⁺ δ']
δ' ἂν RVΓVp3⁺ (δ' by correction Vp3), γάρ ἂν rel. 543 ταῖσιν
RVBVp2, ταῖσιν Δ ὁδοῖσιν V add ἀπάσαις lib. 544 θαλοφό-
ροι B καλοῖμεθ' (-λλ- Γ) lib. ἀντωμουσιῶν R, ἂν (ἂν Vp3⁺) τῶμο-
σιῶν VVp3⁺ 546 βασιλείας μέλλων Vp3⁺ 547-549 Vp2⁺ have
verses in this order: 549, 547 (νυνὶ . . . βασάνιζε), 548, 549 548 ΦΙ]
—R γ'] om VB, τ' Vp2 βλαβίδων B (but : over λ and a B²?)
549 ὡς] om Vp3⁺ οὐδεμιᾶς] δεμιᾶς Vp2⁺ (second time) ἔστι
(-ι) ΓVp2Vp3⁺, abbr. H 550 καὶ] ἦ καὶ RVΓ, ἦ καὶ Vp3⁺, γ' ἦ
καὶ rel. μακάριστον VVp3⁺ νῦν] om V
551 ζῶον] R, ζῶον rel. 552 πρῶτον R ἔρπον R τυροῦσ' Γ
(ρ by correction) δρυφράκτοις BVp2⁺ 554 ἐμβάλει V κεκλο-
φῆαν C 555 ἱκετεύουσιν] VΓ, οἰκετεύουσι C, ἱκετεύουσί rel. ὑποπί-
πτοντες R οἰκτροχοῦντες Vp2, οἰατροχοῦντες Vp3⁺, οἰατροχοῦντες C¹
556 οἰκτειρον lib. πώποθ'] θο (?) deleted after πω R 557 ἐπὶ
Vp3⁺ ξυνσίτοις RVVp2⁺ ἀκμάζων Vp3⁺ 558 ὅς] ὡς R ἐμοῦ
δ' Vp3⁺ ἀπόφενξιν (from -φυξ-) H 559 BΔ] om Vp2⁺ μοι]

om Γ 560 ΦΙ] om R, —V ἀπομορχθιῇ (-ιῇ H) Vp2⁺ 561 φάσκω]
 φάσῃ Vp3⁺ οὐδὲν πάντων Γ πεπόηκα RVΓ 562 ἀπόφυξιν] V,
 -φευξ- rel. 563 θωπεύμ' from θωπεύμενον Δ 564 ἀποκλαίοντα R,
 -κλαίον V, -κλέονται H αὐτῶν lib. προστιθέασι] ΓVp3⁺, -ιν rel.
 565 κακά γε BVp2⁺ τοῖσιν BVp2⁺ ἀνιών] V, om rel. ἀνισώση
 (first σ in ras. with ' sup.) V ἐμοῖσιν] ἐμοῖων Vp3⁺ 566 λέγουσιν]
 R, -σι rel. μύθους] κίθους Vp3[?]C (κ by corr. Vp3, dot under
 υ C) οἱ δ'] ὁ δ' Δ τι] τὸ Γ γελοιον V, γελοῖον ΓB 567
 σκώπτουσα V, -σιν Vp3⁺, -σι? Δ at first ἵνα ἐγὼ RV, ἦν ἐγὼ Γ,
 κἀγὼ Vp3⁺ καταθῶμαι Vp2, κατὰθῶμαι rel. 568 ἀναπειθώμεσθα]
 RVΓ, -μεθα rel. (πειθ corr. to πιθ C¹) 569 τοὺς] τὰς R 570 συγ-
 κύψαντ' V, -κύπτονθ' rel. ἄμα βληχᾶται] ἄμᾶμα βληχᾶτ' R, ἀπο-
 βληχατ' V κᾶπειτ' Vp2 571 θσ' V 572 χαίροις H, χαίρειν C
 ἀρνός] ἀνδρός HVp3⁺ φωνήν Vp3⁺ ἐλαιησais R 573 αὐ τοῖς]
 αὐτοῖσι Vp3⁺, αὐταῖς B², αὐτοῖς B rel. χοιρίοις R, χοριδίοις B
 χαίρω from φαίρω H 574 κόλοπ' V 575 τοῦ from τοῦτ C πλού-
 του from πλούτωνος R 576 om V, add V¹ in marg. αῦ] ἄν RVp3⁺
 σου] B², om BVp2⁺ τουτὶ] B²?, ταδὶ B, ταυτὶ Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ γρά-
 ψομαι lib. τοῦ] om Vp3⁺ πλούτου] R²γρ, οἴκου R 577 ἄχεις]
 ἄχρῖς RVΓ τῆς] RVΓΓ^c, τὴν Γ¹ rel. ἄρχειν] RΓ^c, ἀρχήν Γ rel.
 578 ΦΙ] om V 579 κᾶν] καὶ Vp3⁺ Οἶαγρος] ὕαγρος (ῦ by cor-
 rection) Γ, οἶαγρός Vp2, εἰ ἀγρός H ἀποφεύγει] εἰ by correction R
 πρὶν by correction Γ, πρὴν Vp3 580 αὐτολέξας V, ἀποτέξας Vp3⁺
 581 δίκην] B², νίκην B (dot over first ν? Δ) 582 φορβῆαι RV,
 φορβεῖα Δ, φοβεῖα Vp2⁺ τοῖς RΓVp3⁺ ἡῦλισ'] V¹?, ἡῦλισ' V?Δ
 Vp2⁺ ἀπιούσι Vp3⁺, -σιν rel. 583 ἀποθνήσκω Vp2, -θνήσκων rel.
 τφ] τῶ, BVp2⁺, τῶ(ι) rel. καταλείπων B, -λιπῶν rel. 584 κλαίειν
 lib. τὴν κεφαλὴν] om Vp2⁺ θ deleted after τῇ R διαθήκη
 from διαθήθη H 585 καὶ deleted after πᾶν C σημείουσ(σ)ιν V¹, -οις
 VVp3⁺, -οισι (?) Δ ἐπουσιν V (ras. after ε?) 586 βδελ deleted be-
 fore vs. Γ ἀντιβολήσεις Vp2⁺ ἀναπείθοι V 587 ταῦθ' RV
 ἀνυπέθηνοι H 588 ΒΔ] —V τοι] τὸ V σεμνῶν R 589 ἀνα-
 κογχυλιάζ (-λιάζ' H) Vp2⁺ 590 ΦΙ] om V ἔτι] ἔτη Γ χ' ὦ H,
 χ' ὁ H¹ ὅταν] ταν Vp3⁺ πρᾶγμα RVBVp2⁺ πορίση B 592 εὔ-
 σθλος Vp2⁺ χ' ὁ H οὗτος ὁ Vp3⁺ ἀσπιδ' ἀποβλήs R, ἀσπιδα-
 πόβληs V, ἀσπίδαποβολήs Vp2, ἀσπίδαποβολήs H, ἀσπίδαποβολήs Vp3⁺
 593 φησι ΓB, φασὶ rel. τοῦ] B², om B δέ om Vp3⁺ 595 δι-

καστήρια φεῖναι RVVp₃⁺, δικαστήρια φῆναι Γ 596 δέ] V, δέ ὁ R, δ' ὁ
 rel. μόνον] μὲν Δ, μόνους rel. περιτρώγοι V 597 χερὸς R μυίας]
 R^c, μύας RΓ 598 σὺν δέ] οὐδὲ Vp₂⁺ πῶρα R τὸν] τῶν Vp₃⁺ πώπερ
 Vp₃⁺ 599 καίπουστιν R, καίτοι 'στιν B, καίτοιον Vp₂, καὶ τοῖον H,
 καίτοῦστι C εὐφημίαν Δ νελάττων (ε from λ?) C 600 σπόγγον
 (σπόνγγον C) lib. ἡμᾶς Vp₃⁺
 601 μ'] V, δέ RΓVp₃⁺, δ' rel. ἀποκλείεις lib. καταρύκεις Vp₃⁺
 602 ἦν] ἦν Vp₃⁺ οὐσαν] om VΓ καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν] χύπηρ- B, χ' ἡπηρ-
 Vp₂⁺, αἱ ὑπηρ- Vp₃⁺ ὑποδείξειν Vp₃⁺ 603 ΒΔ] om V ἔμπλη-
 σον H 604 περιγινόμενος lib. 605 ΦΙ] om R, —V ἐστὶ VΓ
 Vp₂Vp₃⁺, abbr. H οὖ] οὐ V 'γῶ] γὰρ V, ἐγῶ Vp₂ πιλελήσμην
 RB, 'πιλ- rel. 606 οἰκάδ'] ὀγκάδ' Vp₂ κᾶπειθ'] κᾶθ' V ἡκονθ'
 ἄμα] B, εἰσηκονθαμε V, εἰσήκονθ' (εἰσήκοιθ' H and perhaps Vp₂ at
 first) ἄμα rel. and B²? (which adds σ over θ of κᾶπειθ') 607 ἀσπά-
 ζονται RVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ (and Δ at first) 608 ἀπονίζει Vp₃⁺ τῶ] om
 Γ ἀλείφει R (and Δ at first) προσκύσασα V, προκύνσασα Vp₂⁺
 609 παππίζουσ'] V, παππάζουσ' rel. τὸ] B, om rel. 610 γύραιοι
 C μάξ Vp₂, μάξαν H, μάξαν rel. προσενέγκει R 611 προσαναγ-
 κάζει RVp₂⁺, -ανγκάξη C φεύγε Vp₃⁺ 612 τούτοισιν] V, τοῖσι
 C, τοῖσιν rel. γάννυμι R, γάννυμαι BVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ κού] καὶ lib.
 613 εἰς lib. βλέψαι] Vp₂¹, βλάψαι Vp₂Vp₃⁺ παραθήσει] R¹,
 -θήσει RΔ 614 τὸν θορύσας Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ ἀλλ' ἦν] Γ, ἄλλην V,
 ἄλλην rel. 616 'γχιῆς] 'κχιῆς Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ τόνδε κεκόμισμαι (first μ
 by correction) Γ, τόνδ' ἐσκεκόμισμαι Vp₃⁺ 617 ἐκχέομαι Vp₂⁺
 618 βρωμήσαμος Vp₂ δίνου] ο deleted before ν C, δείνου R κατέ-
 παρ^δ R, -ἐπαρδε V 619 οὐ] εὐ Vp₃, εὐ C ἀρχή Vp₃⁺ 620 καὶ]
 καὶ τῆς BVp₂⁺ 621 ταῦθα Vp₃⁺, ταῦθ' rel. ὥσπερ R, ὅσπερ Vp₃⁺
 622 γοῦν] μὲν οὖν Vp₃⁺ θορυβήσομεν Δ (and V or V¹?), abbr. Vp₃⁺
 623 φησιν] R, -σὶ rel. πανιόντων Vp₂⁺ 624 τὰ δικαστήρια B
 625 κἀναστράψω RΓ, κἀναστρέψω H, κᾶν ἀναστράψω (ἀ from ἐ) Δ
 626 ποππύζουσι Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ (corrected from ποπτύζουσι C) καὶ
 κέγγεχόδασιν R, κἀγγεχόδασί (καγκ- V) VΓB, κᾶν (κᾶν H) κεχόδασί
 Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ με BVp₂⁺ 627 καὶ] καὶ οἱ Vp₂⁺ 628 με] om VH
 μάλισθ' R 629 —R, βδ ΓB δήμετραν R δέδοικα (-κά B) σ' RΓB
 δ'] om B 634 ἐρήμας] B², ἔρημος B ᾤθ'] ὥο θ' (ras. after ο) R
 οὕτως R 636 XO] om VVp₂⁺ δὲ πάντ' ἐπελήλυθεν (-θε Vp₃, and
 C by correction from θα?) lib. 637-638 ἐγὼ γῆν 'ξανόμην Vp₃⁺

640 ϕ i before $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}s$ Vp2⁺ (belongs before 642) 642 Φ I] om VVp2⁺ (see on 640) $\acute{\omega}s$] $\acute{\omega}s\theta'$ lib. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$] B, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ VVp3⁺, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ Γ, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ Vp2⁺, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ i R 643 BΔ] $\sigma\upsilon$ Vp2⁺, om rel. η $\mu\eta\nu$] η $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ Vp2, $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ H βλέπειν σκύτη BVP2⁺Vp3⁺ ποήσω RVΓ 644 XO] om V παντοίας] -as from -οις V 645 ἀπόλευξιν C, ἀπόφενξιν rel. 647 νεανία] om lib. 648 ὥρα] ὄρα R (and V at first?) σοι] om Vp2⁺ νεώκοπτον V, νέκοπον Vp3⁺ 649 τι] τοι Vp3⁺ λέγης] V^c, λέγεις VVp2⁺, λέγην C καρτερεῖξαι V 650 καὶ μελίζονος] om V (but γ of γνώμης corr. from abbr. for καὶ), μελίζονος Vp3⁺ η] η VVp2⁺Vp3⁺ ἐπὶ Vp3⁺ τραγωδοῖς BVP2⁺ Vp3⁺ 651 ἰασάσθε Vp2, ἰάσασθε H τῇ] τῇδε V 652 Κρονίδῃ] κρου- ἰδῃ Vp3 and probably C Φ I] om R παῖσε Vp3⁺ καὶ] om Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 653 —R, βδ Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ διδάξης BVP2⁺Vp3⁺ 654 τε- θνήξει B, τεθνήσει rel. χρή lib. σπλάγχνα Vp3⁺, σπλάχνων Δ 655 BΔ] —R, om V, χ Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ παπίδιον RVΓVp3⁺ 656 πρῶ- τον μὲν] πρῶτα μὲν νῦν Vp3⁺ 658 τὰ] om Vp3⁺ ἐκτοστὰς C 659 μέταλ' ΔH, μετὰλλ' Vp3, μετὰ'λλ' C λιμένας] λιμίας Vp3⁺ καὶ] om RVΓVp3⁺ δημιόπρακτα H 660 πληρωμ' ἐγγὺς τάλαντ' ἐγγὺς Vp3⁺ γίνεται BVP2⁺, γίνετε Vp3, γένετε C 661 τούτου] RΓ, τούτων rel. νυν] νῦν B, deleted by B¹, om Δ μισθὸν (-ῶ Vp3⁺) κατάθεσ BVP2⁺Vp3⁺ ἐνιαυτοῦ] τουνιαυτου R, τοῦ 'νιαυτοῦ V and (τοῦν-) Γ (τοῦν-) Vp3⁺, τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ rel. 662 χιλιάοι Vp2, -άσι HVp3⁺ κατένασθε (-ενάσθε Vp2, -ενᾶσθε H) BVP2⁺Vp3⁺ 663 τά- λαντα πεντήκοντα Vp3⁺ 664 Φ I] om RV ἐγίγνεσθ' RV?Vp3⁺, ἐγίνεθ' Vp2⁺ 665 BΔ] B (in black), —R, om VΓ, χ Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ οὐ V¹ sup. Φ I] βδ ΓB (in minium), om rel. δὴ 'πειτα] δὴ 'πει Vp2⁺, δὴ ἔπειτα Vp3⁺, δ' ἥπειτα (ἥπ- RΓ) rel. τὰ] om V 666 BΔ] —R, om V, ϕ i rel. εἰς B ἀθηναῖον Vp3⁺ κολοσορτόν Vp2 667 τοῦ] om Vp2⁺ αἰεὶ B βδ before σὺ ΓBVP2⁺Vp3⁺ 668 ἄρχει Γ αἰρεῖ] -ει from -η Δ, αἰρεῖς VΓ αὐτοῦ VΓ τουτος Vp3, τος C ῥηματίος Vp3⁺ περιπεμφθεῖς RVΓ^c, πεμφθεῖς Γ 669 δωροδοκοῦσι R (δοκ from δωκ) ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ τάλαντα] τάλας V 670 ὑπαπει- λούντες V κάναφοβοῦντες from κάνατρέψω C 671 om C, but add C¹ in marg. βροντίσας ΓVp3⁺ ἡμῶν Γ ἀναστρέψω RV 673 σύμμαχοι Vp2⁺ ἥσθηνται V, ἥσθοντο (ἥ- R) RΓVp3⁺, ἥσθοντό γε rel. συρφακὸν Vp2⁺ 674 λαγαριζόμενον] Vp3¹CD, -ρυζ- Vp3Δ¹ rel. τραγαγῆζοντα Γ 675 μὲν] μὲν οὖν Vp3⁺ κόνου (corrected to

κόννου) B², om B δωροφοροῦσιν] V, -δοκοῦσιν rel. 676 δαπίδας R Vp2⁺Vp3, δασπίδας V, δαπίδα C πυρὸν B σήσασμα] σήμαμον Γ, σή (sic) Vp2⁺ 677 φιάλαα C πλουθυγίειαν B, om Vp2⁺, πλοῦθ' ὑγίειαν rel. 678 σοὶ δ'] σὺ δ' RΓVp3⁺, σὺ δέ V, σὺ δέ γ' BVp2⁺ ἄρχης R ἐφ' ὑγρὰ ΓVp2⁺, ἐφυγρὰ Vp3⁺ 679 δίδωσι VΓVp3⁺Δ? 680 ΦΙ] —R, om V γ'] RVΓ, om rel. ἄγλιθας] B, ἀγλίθας rel. 681 ἀποκναίεις] B², -κλέεις V, -κλαίεις B 682 ΒΔ] om VVp2 δουλεί' B Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ ἐστὶν B, ἐστὶ Vp2⁺, ἔστι Vp3, ἴστι C ἅπαντα Vp3⁺ αῖ R 684 σοὶ] σοῦ V δῶ] διδῶ Vp3⁺, γε διδῶ B, τὲ διδῶ Vp2⁺ τοὺς] om B ὀβελοὺς Vp3⁺ οἷς R αὐτοῖς] om Γ 685 καὶ πολιορκῶν] κοπολιορκῶν V, καὶ πολυορκῶν Γ 686 μάλιστά μ'] μάλιστ' Vp2⁺ 687 εἰσελθόν] V?, σ and ο by correction Γ, -ὦν V¹?Δ (and Vp3 at first?) καταπῦγον B, -πύγον Vp3⁺ χαιρίου Vp2 688 διακινήθης Γ, -ῆς Γ^c τρυφερανθεὶς] B, τρυφερωθεὶς ΓB² 689 ὅστις] τίς Vp2⁺ ἡμῶν C (and Vp3 at first) 690 ἔλθοι τοῦ Vp3⁺ 691 φέρει] Γ, -η Γ¹ δραχμὸν C ἔλθῃ] η by correction Vp3 692 κοινωνος V, κοινωνῶν Vp2H¹, κοινωνὸν HVp3⁺ κοινῶν ὄντων Γ (omitting τῶν) 693 τι] om VΓVp3⁺ ξυνθέντες Γ δύνοντε Vp2, δυνόντε H 694 ἐσπουδιάκατον Vp2⁺, ἐσπουδάκαται ? (-ται abbr.) Vp3⁺ καθῶς R ὡς] σ in ras. B πρίον' R, πρίον' (or πρίονες??) V, πρίονες Γ, πρίων B (es over ν B²) rel. ἀντενέδωκεν H, ἀντανέδωκε RΓVp3⁺, ἀντανέδωκεν rel. 695 κωλακρέτην] Δ¹, κωλαγρέτην R, κολακρετήν Γ, κωλακράτην Δ σε] om Vp3⁺ λέληθεν] -εν by corr.? Γ, -ε Vp3⁺, λέλῃ R 696 ΦΙ] —R, om V ὥς μου τὸν θῖνα] B², τὸν θῖνα μου B 697 οἶδ' ὃ τι] οἶαν (οἶαν H) δ' ὅτι Vp2⁺ ποιεῖ Vp3⁺ 698 ΒΔ] om RV τοίνυν γ' ὡς Vp2⁺ τοῖσι ἅπασι C 699 αἰεὶ B ὅποι lib. ἐγκέκλησαι Δ

701 πλιν C τοῦτερίω Vp3, τοῦτρίω C 702 ἐνστάξουσιν] R, -σι rel. αἰεὶ B ἔνεκ' RVVp3⁺ ἔλαιον] V, ἄλευρον rel. 703 τούτων εἵνεκ' (ἐν- Vp2⁺) lib. ἐρῶ σοι] ἔρρασο Vp2⁺, ἔρρωσο Vp3⁺ 704 γιγνώσκης] RV, γιν- rel. τιθασσευτήν RΓVp3⁺, τυθασσευτήν Vp2⁺ γ'] om B ἐπισίξῃ] VΓ, -σίξῃ(ι) rel. 705 — before vs. R τὸν ἐχθρόν ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ ἐπιρύξας R ἄγριος V 706 βίωι deleted before δῆμωι in R 707 εἰσὶ ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ πόλεως Vp2⁺ ἀπάγουσι] ΓVp3⁺, -σιν rel. 708 εἴκοσι Vp2 709 μυριάδες, omitting ἂν, lib. ἔξων] om R ἐν] ἂν B πᾶσιν R, ἅπασι Vp3⁺ λαγῶσι] R, -ῶ- V, -ῶ- rel. 710 στεφάνοισι ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ (and Δ at

first) παντοδαποῖσι ΓVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ πυῶ] ποιῶ Vp₂⁺, πύω rel.
καὶ] om Γ πυαρίτη Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 711 τῆς] om Vp₂⁺ ἀπαλαυ-
όντες C τρόπαιον V 712 ἐλαολόγοι] V, ἐλαιολόχοι R, ἐλαιολόγοι
rel. 713 ΦΙ] om V πέπονθ'; ὥς] ποθ' ὥσπερ (ὥπερ C) lib. νάρκη]
R¹, ναρκει R 714 δυνάμοι Vp₂ 715 ΒΔ] —R, om V μέν] με
Γ Εὐβοίαν] Δ¹, ἐβοίαν Vp₂⁺, εὐβοι Vp₃⁺, εὐοίαν Δ διδώσιν Vp₂
716 κατὰ] καὶ τὰ Γ 717 πλὴν C πρώην R 718 ἔλαβεν B, -ε
rel. 719 οὐνεκ'] εἴν' Δ, εἵνεκ' (εἴ- V) rel. ἀπέκλειον lib. 721
στοφάζοντας Vp₂⁺ (and Vp₃ at first) 724 πλὴν] BVp₂⁺, πλὴν
τοῦ B² rel. κωλακρέτου] R, κωλαγρετου R¹, κωλακρέντρον Vp₃⁺
γάλα] μάλα V 725 ΧΘ] om V σοφός] σοφῶς Vp₂, σοφός τις
Vp₃⁺ ἔφασκεν] RVΓ, -ε rel. ἀκούσας V, -ση Vp₂⁺ 727 σκί-
πωνας] VVp₃⁺B²?, σκιπίωνας R, κήπωνας (?)Γ, σκήπωνας Γ^o, σκίμπωνας
B rel. καταβάλω VΓ 730 ἀγενής R ἄγαν γ' Vp₂⁺ ἀτεράμ-
μων R τ'] om Vp₂⁺ 731 ὠφελέν] RVB¹, -έ B rel. συγγενής
Vp₂⁺ 732 εἶναί τις] εἴν' αἷτιος R ὅστις δὴ τοιαυτ' BVp₂⁺
733 σοὶ] νῦν Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ τις] τις τῶν Vp₂⁺, τί C ἐμφανείς C
735 ἐστὶν V, om rel. ποῶν RΓ, πονῶν Vp₂⁺, πῶι Vp₃, ποῖ C δέ]
δ' αὖ Vp₂⁺ 737 πρεσβύτης Vp₃, πρεσβύτις (υ by corr.) C χονδρὸν
RV 738 λείπειν V μαλαχὴν Vp₂⁺ 740 ὀσφύν] VΓ^e, -ύν Γ rel.
741 καὶ οὐδέν RVΓ γρέζει Vp₃⁺ 742 τοῦτ' οὐ] τούτου Γ δύνα-
μαι Γ με] τε Γ, om Vp₃⁺ 743 αὐτὸν] B, αὐ-Δ rel. εἰς Γ πράγ-
ματα lib. 744 οἷς τότ'] RVΓ, οἷος τ' rel. ἐγνώκεν RVΓ ἀρτίως
ὅτι BVp₂⁺ 745 λογίζονται V πάντ' Vp₂ 746 ἀ] om V
παρακελεύοντος BVp₂⁺ 747 δ'] οὖν BVp₂⁺ ἴσος V τοῖσι σοῖς]
τοῖς σοῖς BVp₂⁺, τοῖς ἴσοις (ἴ- R) RVΓ, τοῖς ἴσοι καὶ Vp₃⁺ λόγιοι
BVp₂⁺ 748 σωφρονεῖ] RVΓB², φρονεῖ B rel. τὸν τρόπων Vp₂,
τῶν τρόπων H 749 πειθόμενος lib. τε σοὶ γ' BVp₂⁺ μοί] μοι
lib. τί] V, τί μοι rel. 750 ΦΙ] om RVVp₂⁺ οὐδέν Vp₂⁺
751 'κείνων Γ ἔραμα C 752 φησὶν R, φασὶ V 754 two let-
ters (κ*) deleted before ἐπὶ in R κημοῖς] κημοῖς κάδοις Vp₂⁺
756 σπεῦδδ'] σπένδ' V μοι] σοι R 757 πάρες] B, πάρεσ' ΓB²
758 ἐγὼ 'ν] BVp₂⁺, ἐγὼν ἐν rel. 759 λάβοι μοι Vp₂ 760 ΒΔ]
—R 761 ΦΙ] —R, om V πείθομαί σοι BVp₂⁺, σοι πείθομαι rel.
βδ before λέγ' ΓBVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ (no sp RV) λέγ' ὃ τι] λέγοντι R (but
ν deleted) πλὴν] περὶ Vp₃⁺ 762 ΒΔ] —R, om V, φι rel. ΦΙ]
: R, om V, βδ rel. φι before τοῦτο ΓBVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ τουτί Vp₃⁺

763 — R κρινεῖ Vp3⁺ ἐγὼ Vp2⁺ **764** BΔ] — R, om V οὖν]
 R^c, om R ποῶν RVΓ **767** ΦΙ] — R, om V τοῦ; τί] τουτὶ V
 BΔ] : RV ταῦτ' R, ταῦθ' rel. ἐκεῖ] Δ, 'κεῖ B πράττεται] Γ, πρὰτ-
 τετε Γ^c **768** σηκῖς] συκῖς Vp3⁺ **770** πάντες V δέ] γε B ἔδρασ'
 Γ **771** νυν] B, νῦν δὴ Vp2⁺, νῦν rel. ἦν] ἂν Vp3⁺ **772** ἔλη R,
 εἴλη VΓ?, εἴλη Γ^cB, εἰλή Vp2⁺, εἰλή Vp3⁺ ἐλιάσει R **773** νείφη]
 R (ε from ι?) B (ει from ι?) Δ? (ει from ε?), νίφη rel. **774** ὕοντος]
 υῖοντας V εἴση B **775** οὐδεῖς σ'] BVp2⁺, οὐ δεῖ σ' R, οὐδεῖς rel.
 ἀποκλείσει (-ση Vp3⁺) lib. κιγκλήδι Γ **776** ΦΙ] — RV BΔ]
 om R, : V γ'] RVΓ, om rel. **777** μακακράν R **778** δάκνων
 Vp3⁺ **779** ΦΙ] — R, om V διαγιγνώσκειν] RV, -γιν- rel.
780 πράγματ' from -τα R **781** BΔ] — R, om V τουτουὶ V
 τουτοῦ H, τουτονὶ C **784** ΦΙ] — R, om V ἄνα τί με H **785** BΔ
 παρ' ἐμοῦ . . . λήψομαι (786)] om Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ BΔ] : RV ΦΙ]
 om R, : V **786** — R **787** εἰργάσατο (-αντο Vp2⁺) lib. λυσι-
 στατρος Vp2 **788** σκωπτόλις R, σκωπτοπώλης B, συνπτόλης Vp3⁺
 δραχμὴν] R¹ in marg., αρχμὴν R πρώην R **789** διεκρεματίζειτ']
 V, διεκρεματίζει μ' Vp3⁺, διεκρεματίζει μ' rel. τοῖσσι Vp2, τοῖσιν H
 ἰχθύσι HVp3⁺ **790** κάπειθεν ἔθηκεν V, κάπειτ' ἐπέθηκε (ἀπ- Γ) rel.
 μοι] om Vp2⁺ **791** κάγώνέκαψα R, κάγών (-ν' V) ἔκαψ' VVp2⁺ **792**
 βδελυθεῖς Vp3⁺ ὀσφραινόμενος R, ὀσφρώμενος Γ **793** καθεῖλκον Vp3⁺
 BΔ] : R, om V δ] om Vp3⁺ τί Γ^c sup. ΦΙ] : RV **794** ἀλε-
 κτρύονος] R^c, -as R, ἀλεκτύονας Vp3 and (-νό-) C ἔφασκεν R
795 τάχα Vp2⁺ **796** BΔ] — V, om B ὅσον] ος ὅσον V καὶ] περ
 BVp2⁺ δῆτα] om V, placed before τοῦτο BVp2⁺, before καὶ τοῦτο
 Vp3⁺ (;) after vs. ΓBVp2⁺, (,) C, point R, om VVp3 **797** ΦΙ]
 — RV πόει RVΓ **798** BΔ] — R, om V **799** ΦΙ] — V ὥσπερ
 αἴνεται Vp2⁺ **800** ἡκηκόειν lib.

801 δικάσαιεν B, -ειεν Vp3⁺ οἰκείαισι Vp2⁺ **802** ἀνοικοδομήσει
 RΓ, ἐνοικοδομήσει rel. πᾶς] πασῶν Vp2⁺ **803** αὐτῷ] B, αὐ- Δ rel.
804 ἐκαταῖον R, ἐκαταῖον V πρὸς C **805** BΔ] — V : after ἰδοῦ
 R ἕτεροις Vp3⁺ **806** ὅσαπερ] VVp2⁺, ὅσαπερ γ' rel. **807** οὐρη-
 τηάσης V **808** σοὶ lib. **809** ΦΙ] — RV **810** ἐξεῦρες lib. ἀτε-
 χνῶς] σαφῶς Vp2⁺ **811** BΔ] om RVVp3⁺ προσέστηκε ΓVp2⁺ Vp3⁺
812 ἐὰν] ἂν Vp2⁺ ΦΙ] : RV **813** — RV περέττω Vp3⁺ **815** ἐμ']
 ἐμόν Vp3⁺ **816** BΔ] om RVp2⁺, — V **817** αὐτοσί R, οὐτοσὶν H
818 ΦΙ] — RV πυθῶ Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ ἄλλ'] om R ἀρέσκει μοι]

ἀρέσκοιμι Vp₂⁺ (-μι from -μοι ? H) BΔ] : RV 819 ΦΙ] —RV
 θηρώϊον R, θηρώων Γ, θηρώων Vp₃⁺, θ' ἡρώων rel. 820 BΔ] —R, om
 V πάρεσθη R ὦ'ναξ Vp₂, ὦ'ναξ H, ὦναξ B, ἄναξ rel. οὐτοσὶν
 H 821 ΦΙ] —V ὥς] καὶ Δ χαλεπὸς B, -ὄν rel. 822 BΔ] om
 lib. 823 ΦΙ] om V, οι(κετ) rel. οὔκουν VΓB, οὐκοῦν rel. γ'
 οὐδ'] δ' Vp₃⁺ 824 BΔ] om V εἰ om Vp₂⁺ ἐκκαθίζου Vp₃⁺
 825-826 om V ΦΙ] om R κάθημ' ἐγὼ lib. 826 BΔ] om R
 εἰσαγω R 827 τι τίς V, τίς τί (τι C) Vp₃⁺ δέδρακεν RΓ, -χε V
 τῇ(ι) οἰκία(ι) lib. 828 πρώην R 829 ΦΙ] —R, om Vp₂⁺
 830 δρυφάκτου] δρυφακτοῦ (first υ from νο?) V, δρυφράκτου BVp₂⁺
 μέλεις V, μέλλει Vp₃⁺ 831 κατεφαίνετο BVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ No MS. has
 (;) after 831, but C has (,) 832 BΔ] om V ΦΙ] om lib.
 833 γε] C¹, τε VC 834 BΔ] —R, om rel. χρῆμ'] πρῆμ' C
 835 ΣΩ] θ' V, om Vp₂⁺, οἰκέτ rel. 836 BΔ] —R ΣΩ] om R,
 : V, οι(κετ) rel. (corrected from β H) 837 εἰς lib. ἀρπάσας
 lib. 838 τροφαλλίδα Vp₂⁺ Σικελικὴν] ΓB, σικελὴν rel. κατ-
 ἐδήδοκεν] κατεδήδοκε Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺, om Γ, κατεδουσιν Γ^R 839 BΔ]
 —R, om V ἄρα] VB, ἄρα rel. 840 παρών] ω by corr.? R
 841 ΣΩ] —R, om V (but : after 840), οι(κετ) rel. ἀλλὰ'τερος Vp₃,
 ἀλλὰ ἕτερος C φησι ΓVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 843 BΔ] —R, om V (but :
 after 842) αὐτῷ] B, -ῶι R, -ῶ Δ ? rel. ΣΩ] om RV, οι(κετ) rel.
 ποεῖν RΓ 844 BΔ] —R, om V (: after 843), φι. rel. ἐστὶν Γ,
 abbr. VH ΦΙ] : RV, οι(κετ) rel. χειροκομεῖον Vp₃⁺ 845 BΔ]
 —R, om V (: after 844) φι rel. ΦΙ] : R, om V, οι(κετ) rel.
 846 —R 847 φι before vs. RΓBVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 848 BΔ] Vp₂⁺
 Vp₃⁺, om RV (: after 847 V), οἰκ(ετ) ΓB 849 ΦΙ] —R, om V
 (: after 848) διατρίβεις] RΓB², -τρίψεις B rel. 850 ἀλλοκίζειν
 ΔVp₂
 851 BΔ] R, οἰκ(ετ) ΓB, om rel. ΦΙ] om lib. BΔ] om RΓ, :
 V, sp B : before τίς RV, φι rel. τίς] R¹, τί R, τίο Vp₃⁺ οὐτο-
 σὶν H : after οὐτοσί V 852 ΦΙ] : RV, οἰκέτ ΓB, βδ rel. εἰς
 κόρακας] R, ἡσκόρακας R¹, ἦ (ἦ Γ) σκόρακας ('σκ- Γ) VΓ : before ὥς V
 ὥς B¹ sup. 853 —R ὅτιη'πιλαθόμην R, ὅτι υπ' ἐλαθόμην V, ὅτιη
 (ὅττιη C¹) 'πιλαθόμην rel. 854 BΔ] om V (: after 853), φι rel.
 σὺ] σοὶ V τι deleted before ποῖ Δ ΦΙ] : RV, οἰκ(ετ) ΓB, βδ rel.
 καδίκους R BΔ] : RV, φι rel. 855 —R τούσδε] om R ἀρν-
 στίκους R, -ίσκους R^c 856 ΦΙ] —R, om V (: after 855), οἰκ(ετ)

ΓΒ, βδ rel. κάλιστα V 857 δεόμεσθα BVP₂⁺ δῆ] om VP₂⁺
 858 ΒΔ] —R, om V, φι rel. δῆ] om VP₂⁺ 859 ΦΙ] —R, om V,
 οἰκ(ετ) ΓΒ, βδ rel. γε πορίζεις VP₃⁺ 860 ΒΔ] —R, φι ΓΒ, om
 rel. τις πῦρ VP₃⁺ 861 om V 862 εὐξώμεθα ΓVP₂⁺VP₃⁺
 863 ταῖσπονδαῖς R 865 λέξομεν] R^c, ἐξομεν (ἐ- V) RV, λέξομεν
 VP₂ 867 ξυνεκτον V, ξυνέβητον rel. 868 ΒΔ] deleted in B, —R
 869 ΧΘ] — V, om ΓΒ Πύθι' ἐπ'] πύθ' ἢ ἐτ' Γ 870 δ] οὐ V
 871 ἔνπροσθεν R 873 ὡς παυσαμένοισι BVP₂⁺ πλάνων] πλανῶν
 R, πλάνου Γ, τῶν πλάνων (πλανῶν H) BVP₂⁺ 874 ἰή ἰε R, ἰήῖε
 VP₂, ἰή ἰε H, ἰήε Δ ἰήι' ἐπαιάν VP₃⁺ 875 ΒΔ] om RV (:
 after 874 V) ἀγυιεύ] ἀγνεύ Γ, ἀγνεύ VP₂⁺ προθύρου] προυπύλου V
 προσπύλας (θ deleted after προσ R) RV, πρὸς πύλας rel. 876 και-
 νήν] καὶ νῦν (νὺν C) BC ἦν] om C 877 αὐτὸ R τοῦτο] om B,
 τουτὶ rel. πρίνιον VP₃⁺ 878 σεραίου VP₃⁺ μικρὸν] RV, σμ-
 rel. παραμίξας lib. 879 ἦπιον BVP₂⁺ 880 τοὺς] VBP₂⁺,
 καὶ τοὺς B² rel. τ'] om Γ 882 παυσαμένης VP₃⁺ 884 ἀκαλή-
 φου VP₃⁺ 885 ξυνενχόμεθά ΓVP₃⁺ (and VP₂ at first). ταῦτά]
 om. lib. νέαισιν] V, ἐν νέαισιν rel. εἵνεκα RVΓVP₃⁺, εἵνεκά γε rel.
 887 ἐξοῦ RV, ἐξ ὅτου BVP₂⁺ 888 ἡσθόμεσθά] H and (ἡσθ-) B, ἡδό-
 μεσθά V, ἡ(ι)σθόμεθά rel. (μὴν del. after ο R) 889 οὐδείς] BVP₂⁺,
 οὐδε (-ἐ Γ) εἰς (εἰς R, εἰς V) rel. 890 τῶν νῦν γε σοῦ νεωτέρων BVP₂⁺,
 τῶν γενναιότερων rel. 890A om lib. 891 ΒΔ] —V θύρασιν]
 RVVP₃⁺, θυρᾶσιν V, θύραισιν rel. ἡλιαστῆς εἰσίτω] V¹, εἰσίτω ἡλιαστῆς
 V 892 εἰσφρήσομεν BVP₂⁺VP₃⁺ 893 ἄρα RΓ, ἄρα V, ἄρ' VP₂⁺
 VP₃⁺ ΒΔ] om lib. οὔτος] om VP₂⁺VP₃⁺ ΦΙ] : Γ^c?, om rel.
 ὅσον] R^c, om R, ὅσον οὔτος VP₃⁺ 894 ΒΔ] V, οἰκ(ετ) ΓΒ, θε(ρά-
 πων) rel. γραφῆς ἦς lib. γράψατο B 895 Αἰξωνέα] R¹, ἐξωνέα R,
 αἰξωνέα VP₂⁺, sp and ωνέα VP₃, ὦνέα (no sp) C 896 κατήσθιε VVP₂⁺
 VP₃⁺ 897 κλωφός] R, -ω- rel. σίκινος VP₂ 898 ΦΙ] om B
 θάνατος from θάνατο R κύνειον C 899 om C, but add in marg. C¹
 ΒΔ] om C (whose entries for 899 and 900 appear before 900 and 901
 respectively; the error was in part corrected). 900 ΦΙ] C by
 correction, —V, βδ C at first (see on 899) καὶ] om V κλεπτὸν R,
 κλέπτων Δ (and H at first)

901 φιλ before vs. C, but corrected (see on 899) σεσηρῶς] ω
 from ο or α VP₃, σεσηρὰς C ἐξαπατήσιν] B, ἐξαναστήσιν ΓB²
 902 —R ἔσθ'] om lib. δ] R, οὐ' Γ, οὐ B, οὐ rel. κυδαθηναῖες

Vp₃⁺ 903 ΚΤΩΝ] Vp₃⁺, κ Vp₂⁺, κύων κυδαθ VΓB, βδε R αὐ αὐ R, αὐ αὐ V, αὐ αὐ rel. BΔ] om R, φι VΓB οὗτος. ΦΙ] om lib. ἕτερος] Γ^c, om Γ οὗτος] bis R, om Vp₃⁺ 904 BΔ] —R, om rel. γ'] om Γ 905 βδ RΓB, κη(ρux) rel. 907 ΣΩ] κύων κυδαθ V, οἰκ(έτ) ΓB, θ(ερ) rel. ἤκουσα (ἥ- V) θ' RV, ἠκούσασθ' Δ ἦν] B, ἦς ΓB² 909 ἔργον Vp₃⁺ ῥυπαπαῖ RΓ, ῥυπαπαῖ rel. 910 ἀποδρᾶις R, -ᾶς Γ εἰς BVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 911 κἀνέπληττ' Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 912 ΦΙ] om V ἐμοὶ γέ RVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 914 βδελλυρὸς Γ ΣΩ] om lib. 915 —RV καίτοι] τοι add sup. R ὑμᾶς from ἡμᾶς V ποεῖν Γ 916 προβάλλη] Γ^c, -ει Γ, -βάλη Vp₂⁺ κυνὶ πτωχὸς γάρ Vp₂⁺ 917 ΦΙ] ὁ κυων R, —V, οἰκ B, θε rel. (;) after μετέδωκεν B : before οὐδὲ V, —B, κυδαθ Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ κυνῶι R γέ μοι R, γεμοι V 918 —V, φι rel. τῶν θεῶν deleted after θερμὸς C ἀνὴρ lib. 919 BΔ] corrected from θε Γ τῶν] τὸν Vp₂ προκαταγίνωσκ' lib. 920 ἀκούσης γ' Vp₃⁺ 921 ἐστὶ V γάρ] om R βόᾱ V 922 ΣΩ] συνηγ V, οι(κετ) rel. 923 ἀπάντων] om Vp₂⁺ μου ὀφαγίστατον Vp₃⁺ 924 θυείαν] B, θυειαν R, θύειαν rel. 925 τὸ] τὸν R σκίρον Γ 926 ΦΙ] —V 927 ΣΩ] om RV, οἰκ(έτ) ΓB, κυ(δαθ) Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ τοῦτον] τοῦτο μὴ R κολάσαντ' V 928 λόχμῃ] R^cΔ¹Vp₃C¹?, λόγχμῃ RΔVp₃¹C, λόγχῃ V δύο] Vp₃⁺ (and H at first?), δὺω rel. 929 διακεκλάγω V διὰ κενῆς] Vp₂⁺, διακενῆς rel. 930 οὐκ ἐκλάγομαι Γ, οὐκ ἐκλαίβομαι Vp₃⁺ 931 ΦΙ] om Vp₂ 932 πόσας Vp₂⁺, ὅσα Vp₃⁺ κατηγορήσε] RVΓB², -ηγόρευσε B rel. 933 κλέπτου Vp₃⁺ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Vp₂⁺ σοὶ] σὺ R 934 ὤλεκτρυνόν] R, ὦ'λεκτυνόν' Γ, ὦ'λεκτρυνών Γ^c rel. (-ιών Vp₂⁺) δία V τοι] γοι Vp₃⁺ 935 θεσμοτέτης Vp₂H¹, θεσμότης HVp₃⁺ Only VΓVp₂ punctuate before ποῦ 936 BΔ] R, θε Vp₂⁺, θεσμο(θέτης) rel. 937 λάβηθι Vp₂⁺ τρύβλιον] B², τρυβλεῖον: V (υ by correction), τριβλίον B 938 τυρόκνηστιν] B², τυροκνήστιν RB, τυρόκνυστιν Vp₃, τυρόκρυστιν C : after vs. V 940 (;) after καθίζεις B — before οὐδέπω B, φι Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 941 ΦΙ] om Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ τούτων V 942 αὐ] RΓ, ἂν (ἀν V) rel. χαλεπᾶς Vp₂ (-as H at first?) 943 φι before ἀλλ' Γ 944 φι before vs. RVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 945 ΦΙ] VB, —R, om Γ, βδ rel. λέγει Γ 946 BΔ] —RV, om ΓB, φι rel. 947 ἔπαθε] -ε from -εs (?) Γ^c βουκυδίδης C 949 —R, βδ rel. 950 ἐστὶν deleted after μὲν R διαβεβλημένον] ΓB, -ους rel. (but Vp₃⁺ doubtful); a letter (μ?) has been deleted after μ in R

952 λύκους from λύχνους (?) H 953 κλέπτῃς] B², κέπτῃς B
 οὖν] om R γε] om Vp₂⁺ 954 BΔ] —V νῦν Vp₃⁺ 956 ΦΙ]
 —V κατεσθίει] R¹, καταισθίει R 957 BΔ] —RV (;)] om lib.
 958 ἐστὶ V 959 ξύγγνωθι] Vp₂⁺, συγ- rel. 960 ΦΙ] —RV
 962 BΔ] ΓB, κυδ R, —V, θερ Vp₂⁺, om Vp₃⁺ δαιμόνιέ μου] VΓ,
 δαιμόνι' ἐμοῦ rel. 964 ταμιεύονσ' Vp₂⁺ ἀπόκρινε R 965 κατέ-
 κνισας V τοῖς from τοῖ R ἄλλαβαις V (but corrected?) 966 βδ
 before φησὶ HVp₃⁺ κατακνίσαι V ΦΙ] om R, : V 967 BΔ]
 om V ἐλέγει C ταλαιπωρουμένους] B, -πορ- Vp₂⁺, τοὺς ταλαιπω-
 ρουμένους (-πορ- C) rel. 969 κούδέπωτ' Vp₂⁺ 970 φιλ before vs.
 R οὐκούρως Vp₂ μόνον] R¹, -ος RV 971 φέρῃ] V¹Γ^c, φένηι
 R, φέρει VΓVp₂⁺ 973 ΦΙ] —R, om V κακόν] BVp₂⁺, τὸ κακόν
 rel. 974 περὶ μένει R, περβαίνει V, παραβαίνει Vp₃⁺ 975 BΔ]
 —RV οἰκτεῖρατ' lib. 976 διαφθείρηται Vp₂⁺ 977 κνυζόμενα
 Vp₂⁺ 978 αἰτέλ R 979 ΦΙ] ο γερων ἢ ο αὐτος R, —V κατάβα
 3 times] BVp₂⁺, twice rel. BΔ] : R, ὁ παῖς R¹ in marg., om V
 980-981 om VVp₂⁺, add V¹ between 979 and 982 δῆ] ἤδη V¹
 981 αὐτὰρ V¹ 982 ΦΙ] —R, om V ἐς] B, ἦσ RVB²Vp₃⁺, ἦ'σ Γ;
 cf. on 852 ἐστὶ] ἔστι γε BVp₂⁺ τὸρ ροφέιν V 984 ποτ'] ποτέ
 (ποντέ Vp₂) γ' lib. ἐμπλήμενος] R, ἐμπλημένος VΓ, πεπλησμένος B
 Vp₂⁺, ἐμπεπλησμένος Vp₃⁺ 985 BΔ] —RV, om Vp₂⁺ οὐκοῦν
 RΓVp₂⁺, οὐκουν V (;)] BVp₂⁺, point Vp₃⁺, om rel. ΦΙ] : RV
 986 BΔ] corr. from φιλ C, —R, om VVp₂⁺ 987 at foot of page,
 after 992, Γ 988 πάραιξον R, πάράξον Γ, πάραξον B, πάροξον Δ,
 παράιξον rel. κάπόλαυσον V 989 ΦΙ] —R, om V : after
 δῆτα R? 990 BΔ] —R, om V τῇνδὶ BH, τῇνδὶ Δ Vp₂Vp₃⁺
 991 ΦΙ] —R, om V ὄδ' ἔσθ'] ιδέσθ' (but accent crossed) V (;)]
 ΓB, point Vp₂Vp₃⁺, om rel. BΔ] om R ΦΙ] ΓB sup. (no sp.),
 : RV, om rel. αὐτῇ (αὐτῇ B) 'ντευθενὶ RVB, αὐτ'ῇνθέν Γ, αὐτῇν
 'τευθενὶ (στευθενὶ Vp₃⁺) ΔVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ 992 BΔ] ΓB, om rel. οὐκ
 ἐκὼν Vp₂⁺ 993 — before φέρ' R, φι ΓBVp₃⁺ ΦΙ] om lib.
 ἄρ'] RVΓ, γὰρ rel. ἡγωνίσμεθα V 994 BΔ] om R, —V ἔοικας
 R 995 πάτερ once only Vp₂⁺ φι before οἵμοι Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺
 996 βδ Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ ἔπαιρε] V, ἔπαιρε bis Γ, ἔπαιρ' ἔπαιρε rel. ΦΙ]
 : R, om V εἶπέ 'κείνο BVp₂⁺ 997 —R πέφευγε R BΔ] :
 R, om V ΦΙ] : RV 998 BΔ] —RV 999 ΦΙ] —RV ἐμ-
 αντῶ] μεταντῶ V ξυνέλισσμαι BΔ, ξυνήσσομαι Γ

- 1001 ἐξύγγνωτέ Vp3⁺ 1002 αὐτ'] ΓB, αὐτ' RVΓ^o, αὐτ' rel.
 κού] B², καὶ B τρώπως Vp3⁺ 1003 ΒΔ] —RV γ'] om Vp3⁺
 1004 πανταχοῦ lib. 1005 εἰς lib. 1007 σ'] om Vp2⁺ 1008 εἰ-
 σίωμεν] ω from ο R ΦΙ] om RV νῦν γ' BVp2⁺ 1009 ΧΟ]
 RVp2⁺, κομματ(ιον) V, κομματ(ιον) χορ(ον) rel. βούλειτε | σθ' V
 1010 τέως] RV, ταχέως ΓVp3⁺, γε (τε Vp2⁺) ταχέως BVp2⁺
 1011 νῦν μὲν τὰ lib. 1012 χαμάζ'] RB, -ὰξ V, -ὰξ' ΓVp2⁺, χάμαζ'
 Vp3⁺ εὐλαβεῖσθαι V 1013 σκαιῶν Vp2 1014 πάσχει Γ
 ἡμῶν Γ 1015 $\overset{\alpha}{\pi}\overset{\beta}{\beta}$ Γ, παραβασις B, παράβασις χοροῦ Vp3⁺ αὐτε]
 αὐτ Γ πρόσχετε B, ποσέχεται C καθορόν Vp2⁺ 1017 φησὶν B,
 -ὶ rel. πολλ'] πό' Vp2 εὖ R¹ sup. 1018 τοῖς ἑτέροις Vp2⁺
 1020 κωμωδία ΓB²? πολλὰ R¹ sup. χέασθαι] B, μάχεσθαι ΓB²
 1022 οἰκίων ΓVp2⁺ στόματ' RVVp3⁺ ἡνιχήσας Γ 1024
 ἔτελέσαι Vp2 1025 περικωμάζειν] B¹, -ει B πειρῶν] περιῶν V,
 περιῶν R, περιῶν rel. 1026 παιδὶ χ' RVVp3⁺ ἑαυτῶν Vp3⁺
 ἔσπενδε B 1027 πιθέσθαι] B, πείθεσθαι rel. τιν'] τ' Vp2⁺ ἐποιεῖκῃ
 Γ 1028 ἵνα τὰς] ἰκταὶ Vp3⁺ αἴσιν] V, αἴσειν R, αἴσι rel. προ-
 αγωγοὺς] B, προαγώμενον ΓB² 1029 γ'] B, om rel. ἥρξε] φησὶν V
 φήσ'] $\overset{\delta}{\phi}$ (?) V φησὶ πιθέσθαι R 1030 τοῖσι] BVp2⁺, τοῖς rel.
 1031 συστὰς V τῷ] om Vp3⁺ 1032 Κύννης] B², κυννης B, κυνῆς Δ,
 κύνης Vp3⁺ ἀκτῖν' Vp3⁺ 1033 οἰμωξομένων] Γ^o, οἰμωζομένων ΓB
 1034 εἶχεν] RV (and Γ at first), εἶχε rel. 1035 ὁσμὴν] ὄσμ^τ (= ὄσ-
 ματα) Δ Λαμίας] R, λαμίας (λάμιας Vp2⁺) δ' rel. καμύλου H
 1036 φησι ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ καταδωροδοκήσειν Γ 1037 ὑμῶν] B,
 ἡμῶν rel. φησὶ ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ τε] om R αὐτοῦ lib. 1038 ἡπι-
 ἀλοις] Γ^o, -οι Γ πέροισιν R πέρυσι Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ πυρετοῖσι C
 1040 κατακλινόμοι C τοῖσι ἀπράγμοσι C ὑμῶν] om Vp2⁺, ἡμῶν
 Vp3⁺ 1041 μάρτυρας Vp3⁺ 1042 δεῖ μαίνοντας Vp2⁺ τὸν
 λέμαρχον Vp2⁺ 1043 τοιόνδ'] τοιοῦτον δ' V καθαρτην RB, καθάρ-
 την Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 1044 πέρυσι Vp2⁺Vp3, πένυσι C κάταπροῦδοντε
 R, καταπρόνδοτε V, -πρόν- Vp3⁺, -πρόν- rel. σπείραντ'] R, σπαίροντ'
 V, σπαίροντες Γ, (σπέροντ)es B², σπαίροντ' Vp3, σπαίροντας' C, σπέ-
 ροντ' rel. διάνοι C (i.e. διανόει as in Vp3) 1045 ὑπέρ Vp2⁺
 ὑμεῖς] B², ὑμᾶς B, om Vp2⁺ ἀναλδεῖς] B, ἀναιδεῖς RB² 1046 σπέν-
 δων] B², σπεύδων BVp2⁺ πολλοῖσιν BVp2⁺ ὄμνυσιν V, ὠμνυσι
 B, ὄμνυσι rel. 1047 μὴ π[ώποτ' Vp2 1048 γνοῦσιν] VB, -ι Δ
 rel. 1049 τοῖς σοφισταῖς Vp2⁺ 1050 εἶπερ ἐλαύνων (-ω C) lib.

1051 πνίγος V, πνίγος τὸ καὶ μακρὸν ΓΒ 1053 λέγον Vp3⁺
 1056 ἐσβάλλετε τ'] RV, ἐσβάλλετε δ' BVP2⁺, ἐσβάλλετ' ΓVP3⁺
 ἐς] ΓVP2⁺, εἰς rel. τοὺς VP2⁺ 1057 κὰν ταῦτα RVΓΔ, κὰν-
 ταῦθα VP3⁺ ποῆθ' RVΓ 1058 διέτους VP3⁺ 1060 ημιχ RVP3⁺,
 χο VP2⁺, ὁ χ̣ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν V πάλαι Γ^ο sup. ὑμεῖς VP3⁺ ἄλκοιμοι
 VP2 1061 μάχαισιν BVP2, -σι H 1062 κατ'] ταῦτ' R δὴ] B
 VP2⁺, om rel. μαχιμώτατοι lib. 1064 οἷχεταί γε BVP2⁺ κύ-
 κνου] V¹, κνου V τ'] τε lib. ἔτι] om lib. πολιώτερα RVVP3⁺
 1065 οἱ δ' VΓ, οἱδ' VP3⁺ ἐπανθοῦσιν R, -ι rel. τρίχας V 1066 λει-
 ψᾶν VP2H? 1067 ῥώμην] ΓΒ, γνώμην VΓ^κγρB² ἔχειν lib.
 ὡς] B², om BVP2⁺ 1069 κίννους V, κικίνους Δ, κοκκίνους VP2⁺VP3⁺
 νεανικῶν C 1070 om VP2⁺ κηῦρυπρωκτίαν lib. 1071 χο
 γεροντ RVP3, χ VP2⁺C, επιρ(ρημα) VΓBVP3⁺ τήν ἐμή C 1072
 θαυμάζειν μ' V διεσφηκωμένον] B², ἐσφ- BVP2⁺VP3⁺ 1073 ἦτις]
 R?V, ἦ τίς rel. ἡ ἐπίνοια Γ, ἡπίνοια VP3⁺ τῆς] RV, τῆσδε
 τῆς rel. ἐγκεντρίδος] κεντρίδος V¹, original entry uncertain 1074
 ᾗ] ἡ VP3⁺ πρὴν C 1075 τὸνρροπύγιον VP2? (and H at first)
 1076 ἐγγενεῖς] RVΓB², εὐμενεῖς B, εὐγενεῖς rel. 1078 ὠφελῆσαν
 ἐν] ὠφελήσαμεν R, ὠφελοῦσαν ἐν Γ μάχεσιν R, μάχαισι C ἦνθ'
 R, ἦλθεν Γ, ἦθ' VP3⁺ 1079 πορπολῶν VP2, πῦρ πολων VP3⁺
 1080 ἐξελθεῖν VP2⁺ ὑμῶν RΓ μενοιῶν] μενοῖν VP3⁺ 1081
 δουρὶ BVP2⁺VP3⁺ 1082 ἐμαχόμεθ' VP2⁺VP3⁺ αὐτοῖς Γ πεπω-
 κότος V 1083 στὰς] πᾶς VP2⁺, τὰς VP3⁺ ἀνήρ] ἀνδρὶ VP3⁺ παρ']
 πρὸς R χελήνην VP2⁺, χελώνην VP3⁺ 1084 τῶν] τοῦ VP3⁺ το-
 ξοτῶν V 1085 ἐπαυσάμεσθα R, ἐσωζόμεσθα VΓ^κγρ, ἀπεωσάμεσθα
 (-μεθα VP2⁺) Γ rel. ἐσπέραν] VΓ?, -ας R, -α Γ^ο? rel. 1086 γλάξ
 VP3⁺ διέπτατο lib. 1087 δ'] τ' Γ ειπόμεσθα R, ἐπ- V, ἐπ- Γ,
 ἐσπ- B, ἐσπ- VP2⁺ (-μεσθα from -μεθα VP2), ἐπόμεθά VP3⁺ θυνά-
 ζοντες ΔVP3⁺ εἰς lib. 1088 οἱ δ' ἔφευγον τὰς] om Γ (sp left), add
 οἱ δ' ἔφευγον Γ^κ 1089 ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς] sp Γ, add Γ^κ 1090 μηδὲν
 Ἀττικοῦ] sp Γ, add Γ^κ 1091 χ VP2⁺ ἄρα RVVP3⁺ ᾗ] ἦν R,
 ἦι V, ἦν C 1092 κατεστρεψάμην (καταστρ- H) γε BVP2⁺ 1093
 πλέον Γ τριήρεσι VP3⁺ no MS. has (;) 1097 ὅστις] B², ὅς
 BVP2⁺ ἂν ἐρέτης (ἀνερέτης corr. from ἀναιρ- V) lib. 1100 τὸν]
 καὶ τὸν BVP2⁺

1102 χο RVP2⁺, ἀντεπιρρη(μα) VΓB, ἀντεπίρρημα χοροῦ VP3⁺
 ἡμᾶς] B², ὑμεῖς B 1104 μὲν bis VP2 ζῶον] RV, -ῶ- rel. ρηε-

θησμένον Vp2⁺ 1105 ἐστὶ V 1107 ξυλλεγέντες] V, ξυλλέγοντες
 R, συλλέγοντες rel. κατ' ἐσμούς GB, καθεσμούς rel. ὡς περὶ H
 1108 ἄρχων lib. παραὶ Vp3⁺ 1109 ἐνοδίῳ R δέ] om. Vp2⁺
 πρὸ C 1110 (,) before πυκνόν B Vp2⁺, point after πυκνόν RVΓ,
 no punctuation Vp3⁺ εἰς lib. μόλις] C¹, μόλλις C 1111
 καττάροις R, κυτάροις V, κιττάροις GB 1113 om. C, add. C¹
 in marg. γὰρ κεντοῦμεν] om. γὰρ κεντοῦ Γ (but sp.), add. Γ^c
 κάκποριζόμενον V Vp3⁺ 1114 ἀλλὰ] corr. from πάντα C
 1116 γόνον lib. 1117 ἔστ'] ἔτ' Γ ἡμῖν . . . μισθόν (1118)] om. V
 ἡμῖν] R, ἡμῶν rel. 1118 ἐκφορῇ(ι) lib. 1119 λόγχην] RΓB²,
 λολοχμην Vp2, λόχμην B rel. λαβὸν Vp2⁺ 1120 ἀλλὰ μοι lib.
 ἐμβραχὺ R, ἐνβραχὺ V, ἐμβράχυ Vp2, ἐμβραχυ H 1121 μὴ 'χη] μῆχη(ι)
 RV, μήχη Vp2, μάχη H 1122 οὔτοι V, οὔτι Vp3⁺ 1123 ἔσωσεν
 RV 1124 ὁθ' in margin before the vs. Vp3 1125 ἀγάθ' (-ἀθ' R) RΓ,
 ἀγαθ' Vp3⁺ παθεῖν] om Γ 1126 ΦΙ] —R om V δία V οὐ-
 δαμῶς] δαμῶς Vp3⁺ 1127 ἐπ' ἀνθρακίδων lib. ἐμπλήμενος] RΓ^cB²,
 ἐμπλημένος V, ἐπλήμενος Γ, πεπλησμένος B Vp2⁺, ἐμπεπλησμένον Vp3⁺
 1128 ὠφείλων Vp2⁺ γναφεῖ (γραφεῖ Vp3⁺) lib. 1129 ΒΔ] om
 RV 1130 σαιτὸν Vp2⁺ ποεῖν RVΓ 1131 ΦΙ] —R, om V
 ΒΔ] om RV 1132 —R τὸνδὲ C ἀναβαλοῦ] B¹, ἀναλαβοῦ B?
 rel. 1133 ΦΙ] —R, om V παῖδας] RVΓ, παῖ Δ, παῖδα rel.
 1134 ἀποπνίξαι lib. 1135 ΒΔ] —R, om V In R ἔχ' ἀναλαβοῦ
 τήνδὲ was first written (and deleted), then the whole of 1135 (read-
 ing ἀναβαλοῦ) in a new line. ἀναβαλοῦ] R (second time) B¹,
 ἀναλαβοῦ R (first time) B rel. 1136 ΦΙ] —R, om V κακὸν]
 καλὸν C ἐστὶν Γ 1137 ΒΔ] —R, om V περσίδα V περσι-
 δῆτ' ὅδε Vp3⁺ 1138 ΦΙ] —RV θριμαιτίδα V, θυμαντίδα B,
 θυμαντίδα Vp2⁺ 1139 ΒΔ] corr. from φι C, —RV κοῦ]
 καὶ Vp3⁺ 1140 ἔγνωκας Γ οὐχὶ] οὐ Vp2⁺ γινώσκεις] RΓ, γιν-
 rel. ΦΙ] : RV 1141 —R οὐ τοίνυν γ' B, οὔτοι νῦν γ' Vp2⁺
 1143 ΒΔ] —RV ἐν] om V Ἐκβατάνοισι] Γ^c, ἐβατ- Γ ὑφαί-
 ρεται H 1144 ΦΙ] om RV ἐν] ἂν Δ γίγνεται] RVp2⁺, γίν-
 rel. χόλιξ] χ in ras. B, χόσις Vp3, χόρις C (;) ΓVp3⁺, point
 RB, om rel. 1145 ΒΔ] om RV πόθεν] Γ^c, π^ο Γ 1146 αὐτὴ
 γέ ποι R 1147 ταλάντων Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ καταπέπτωκε Vp3⁺
 1148 ΦΙ] —R, om V οὐκοῦν lib. ἐριάλην Γ αὐτήν] V, ταύτη C,
 ταύτην rel. 1149 ἦ] γ' ἦ RBVp2⁺ (;) point RBVp2Vp3⁺, om

rel. BΔ] om R, : V 1150 στῆθι B, στῆθι γ' B¹Vp₂⁺ ἀναμψι-
σχόμενος] R, ἀμπισχ- rel. ΦΙ] : RV

1151 —R τί μου κατήρυγεν] sp Γ, add Γ^r 1152 BΔ] —R,
om V ἀναβάλει V ΦΙ] om R, : V ἐγώ V ἄλλ' om Γ

1153 —R γ'] om ΓVp₃⁺ κρίβανόν μ' ἀμπίσχετε] Γ^r, om Γ
ἀπίσχετε Vp₃⁺ 1154 BΔ] —R, om V ἄλ' C περιαλῶ C

φι before σὺ Γ and B sup. (no sp) δ'] γ' Γ ἴσθι Vp₃⁺ (and ΔVp₂,
but corrected?) 1155 ΦΙ] —R, om VΓB καταθου R, κατάθου B,

καταθοῦ rel. BΔ] Γ sup. (no sp), B (by correction from φ), om R,
: V 1156 ΦΙ] —RV με V sup. 1157 BΔ] —R, om V ὑπο-

δύου RVΓ, ἀποδύου (-δύον Vp₃⁺) BVp₂⁺Vp₃⁺ κατατράτους V
1158 ὑπόδοθι Vp₂ 1159 ΦΙ] om R, —V ὑποδύσασθαι lib.

1161 om Vp₃⁺ BΔ] —R, om V ποτ' ὦ τᾶν] om Γ (small sp
left), add. ταν Γ^c, πότ' ὦ τὰν Γ^r in marg. τᾶν] τᾶν V, 'τὰν B

κάπόβαιν'] κατάβαιν' Vp₂⁺, καὶ κατάβαιν' B 1162 ἐς] καὶ Vp₂⁺
ΦΙ] : R, om V 1163 ἐς] BVp₂⁺, εἰς rel. τῆν] γῆν R 1164 BΔ]

—R, om V ΦΙ] : R, om V 1165 εἰς] εἰς Γ 1166 BΔ] —RV
ἔστιν C ΦΙ] : RV 1167 γῆρα R, V illegible (in photograph),

γῆρω Vp₃⁺, γῆρα (-α) rel. χίμετλον] Γ^c, χίμελον Γ 1168 BΔ] —R,
om V ὑποδυσόμενος B, ὑποδυσάμενος rel. 1169 φέρον V, τρυφέρον

V¹ τι Γ sup. 1170 ΦΙ] —R, om V ὅτω] ω from ι V, ω from
ε(?) Γ 1172 BΔ] —RV After this vs. Vp₂⁺ add, as if

part of text, δῦθι ἦν (ἦν Vp₂) εἶδος φύματος 1173 ΦΙ] —R, om V
προθυμοῦ Δ σαυλοπρωκτιᾶν] Γ^c, -ίαν Γ Vp₂⁺ add, as if part of

text, σαῦλον δὲ τὸ κοῦφον σαλεύων τὸν πρωκτὸν (πρακτων Vp₂) 1174 BΔ]
—R, om V 1175 (;)] Γ, point RB, (,) C, om rel. 1176 ΦΙ]

—RV BΔ] : RV τίνα] τίνας B, τί Vp₂⁺ λέγοις from λέγεις(?) Γ
ΦΙ] : RV 1177 Λάμι'] ΓB, λαμί' R, λαχμί' Vp₂⁺, λαμί' rel. ἐπέρ-

σετο Vp₃⁺ 1178 δ'] om Γ ὁ] om Γ 1179 BΔ] —R, om V
μοι lib. 1180 λέγῶ Γ, λέγωμεν C κατοικίαν RVΓH 1181 ΦΙ]

—R, om VVp₂⁺ κατοικίαν RVΔH 1182 οὕτως Vp₂⁺ 1183 BΔ]
—R, om V καὶ παίδευτέ Vp₂, καὶ ἀπαίδευτε H θεογόνῃς H

1185 γαλῇ R, -ῆς H μέλλεις λέγειν] λέγεις V ἀνδράσι VΓVp₃⁺
1186 ΦΙ] —R, om V point after ποίους VΓΔVp₂⁺ τινὰς] R,

τίνας rel. BΔ] : RV μεγαλοπρεπὲς Vp₃⁺ 1187 Κλεισθένει]
R^c, -ῆ R 1188 ΦΙ] —R, om V ἐγὼ δέ] ἔγωγε B (;) after

πώποτ' B, pt. Δ οὐδαμοῦ lib. 1190 BΔ] om V 1191 ἐφουνδίω V

1192 ὦν καὶ πολίος] ὦν πολίος ὦν V 1193 καθυτάτην V, βαρυτάτην rel.
καὶ λαγόνα] V, καὶ λαγόνas RΓVp3⁺, λαγόνas τε BVp2⁺ 1194 ΦΙ]
: RV παῦ'] B, παῦε rel. 1195 —R πῶς] V, πῶς δ' rel. μα-
χέσαιτο] R^c, μαχαίσαιτο RVp2, μαχαίσαιντο H, μαχέσαιντο H¹
1196 ΒΔ] —RV οὔτω] V, -ως rel. νομίζουσ' οἱ] νομίζουσι Vp3⁺
1197 ἕτερον] ερ by correction Γ ἀνδράσι ξένοις] Γ^r, ἀνδρασι Γ
1198 σαυτοῦ Vp2⁺ δοκεῖς] Γ^r, om Γ, δοκῆς B 1199 ἀνδρικώτα-
τον] Γ^r, ἀνδρικ (sic) Γ 1200 ΦΙ] —R, om V? ἀνδρεῖστατόν Vp3⁺
1201–1202 ὑφειλόμην . . . χάρακας] om V ΒΔ] —R κάπρον] κάπρον
C 1205 om Δ ΦΙ] —R, om V 1206 Φάυλλον] RΓ, φαύλον
Vp2?C, φαῦλον H, φάῦλον rel. 1207 εἶλον] εἴλον (?) V (second letter
partly lost in fold) διώκον C (and VVp3? at first) 1208 ΒΔ] —R,
om V 1209 ξυνποτικὸς R, ξυμποτοτικὸς Vp3⁺ ξυνουσιαστικὸς] Γ^c,
συν- Γ, ξυνουστιακὸς ΒΔ? (στ from σ Δ) 1210 ΦΙ] —R, om V κατα-
κλινῶ] B, -κλίνω rel. ΒΔ]: R, om V 1211 ΦΙ] om RV ὠδὶ]
ὠσὶ Vp3⁺ κατακλινῆναι] Γ, -κλίνει V, -κλιθῆναι rel. ΒΔ. μηδαμῶς
. . . δαῖ (1212)] om Vp3⁺ ΒΔ]: RV 1212 ΦΙ] —R, om VH
(but : after 1211 H) πῶς] B², ποῦ BVp2⁺ δαῖ] δέ V (and per-
haps R at first) ΒΔ]: R, om V ἔκτεινε] Γ^c, ἔκτειναι ΓVp3⁺
1213 ὑγνὸν C χύτλαρον V τοῖς from τοῖ R στῶμασιν C
1215 κεκράδι' Vp2⁺ 1216 χειρός] dots under os B εἰσφέρειν lib.
1217 ἀπονενίμεθ' R, -γενέμμεθ' V σπένδοκεν R, σπένσοκε Vp3⁺
1218 (;)] Vp2, point B, om rel. 1219 ΒΔ] om R ἀβλητρὶς lib.
1220 εἰσὶ ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ αἰσχίνην V φάνος R, νανός Vp2, φανός
rel. 1221 ἀκέστερος lib. 1222 σκόλι'] Δ, σκολί' ΒΔ¹ δέξη Γ
1223–1227 om Vp3⁺, but remainder of page (5 lines Vp3, 4 lines
C) left blank; 1223 and 1227 supplied by C¹ in minium. ΦΙ]
—RV ἀληθὲς C¹ οὐδεὶς γε lib. διακριῶν V δεδέξεται (add
γ' Vp2+C¹) lib. 1224–1226 om Vp2⁺ 1224 om B, add B² in
marg. ΒΔ] ΓB², —RV 1225 ἄδω] B², ἄδει B δέξαι] V, -ει
rel. 1226 ἐγένετ' ἀθηναῖος lib. 1227 ΦΙ] B at first, βδ Γ (and B
by corr.), om rel. παροῦργος C¹ οὐδέ] om lib. κέλπτῃς Vp2C¹
1228 ΒΔ] Γ by corr., —R παραπολύ Δ 1229 φησὶ Vp2⁺, φήσειν
Vp3⁺ σε] Γ^r, om Γ (but sp left) 1230 τῆς R¹ sup. ΦΙ] Γ^r?,
: RV, sp Γ 1231 ἑάν γ' BVp2⁺ δία R ἑτέραν ἄσομαι lib.
1232 χο VVp2⁺Vp3⁺ ὦν'θρως Vp2, ὦν "θρως H, ἀνθρωφ' Vp3⁺
μαιόμενος] V¹B^c, 'μαιόμενος Vp3⁺, μαινόμενος VB τὸ μέγα κράτος]

om Vp₃⁺ 1234 ἀνατρέψεις lib. 1235 ἀ] VVp₃⁺, ἀ RΓH, ἄ BVp₂ δέχεται Γ 1236 ΒΔ. τί . . . Θέωρος] Γ^r, om Γ (but space left) ΒΔ] Γ^rB, —R, om rel. ὁ θέωρος RVp₃⁺ προ R Vp₂, προ Η 1237 ἄδη Κλέωνος] sp Γ, supplied by Γ^r ἄδη] VVp₂, ἄδει (ἀί- R) RΓ^rB, ἥδη Η, ἄγει Vp₃⁺ λαβόμενος Vp₂ δοξίᾱς Vp₃ 1238–1239 Ἀδμήτου . . . φίλει] Γ^r, sp Γ ἀδμήτου Vp₃?C 1240 φι (deleted) before vs. Γ^r τοῦτο R, ταύτω Vp₂⁺ σκολὸν Β ΦΙ] om RV ὠδικὸς Γ, ἀδικῶς Vp₂, ἀδίκως Η : before ἐγὼ R 1242 ἀμφοτέροις BVp₂⁺ γίνεσθαι Γ 1243 ΒΔ] om VVp₂ 1244 κατὰίσεται R, κᾶτ' εἴσεται Vp₂⁺ 1245 βίαν lib. 1246–1247 κάμοι] καί μοι R, κᾶν μοι Vp₃⁺ θεταλῶν Δ (corr. Δ¹), τετταλῶν Vp₂⁺ 1248 ΦΙ] om V δῆ] δὲ Vp₂⁺ διέκόμισα V, διεκόμισας rel. σὺ] σὺ τε BVp₂⁺ 1249 ΒΔ] —R, om V τουτί] B², ταυτί Β ἐποικεικῶς Γ ἐπίστασαι Vp₂⁺ 1250 δὲ Vp₂⁺ εἰς lib. φιλοκτήμενος Η, —κτέμονος Vp₃, —τέκμονος C

1251 σκεύαζε V 1252 κρόνου Vp₂, κρόνου Η ΦΙ] : R 1253 γίνεται lib. 1254 πατάξαι] BVγρ(in schol.)Γ^rγρ, κατάξαι RVΓVp₃⁺, κατάραξ (sic) Vp₂⁺ 1255 ἀποτείνειν RΓ, ἀναποτίνειν Vp₃⁺ 1256 γ'] R, om rel. 1257 παρητήσατο Γ 1259 γελλοῖον V συβαρικτικόν Vp₂⁺ 1260 γέλων] μέλων Γ 1261 ἔγρεψας Vp₂, ἔγραψας Η ἀφείς σ'] ἀφείς Γ, ἀφείσ' Vp₃⁺ 1262 ΦΙ] —V τᾶρ'] γᾶρα R, ᾶρα V, γάρ' δ' Γ, γᾶρ δ' Γ^c, γάρ Vp₂⁺, γ' ᾶρ' rel. 1263 εἶπερ] VΓ, εἶπερ γ' rel. ἀποτισωμεν V, ἐποτίσω C, ἀποτίσω rel. 1264 ΒΔ] χο R, om rel. Vp₃⁺ have ἀπαλλάττονται entered here like the name of a speaker 1265 ΧΟ] om RV δὴ δόξ' εμαυτῶ R, δῆ(or δ'η?)δοξ' ἀμ' αὐτῶ V, δὴ 'δοξα 'μαυτῶ Γ, δῆδοξα 'μαντῶ Β, δῆ(δὴ Η) 'δοξα 'μαυτῶ Vp₂⁺, δ' ἡ δόξα μαντῶ Vp₃⁺ 1266 σκαιούς Vp₃⁺ 1267 ἀλλὰ μυνίας Γ οὐκ] VΓ, οὐκ' R, οὐκ Vp₃⁺, οὐ Vp₂, οὐ Η, οὐεκ (but ε deleted) Β, οὐέκ Δ Κρωβύλων] V, -λας Vp₃⁺, -λου rel. 1268 ὄν] ὦν V, ὄντιν' BVp₂⁺ γ'] R, om rel. πω deleted before ποτ' V ῥοὰς V, ροῖας R, ῥοῖας Vp₂, ροῖας rel. 1269 Λεωγόρου] om Γ 1270 πείνη R ἥπερ] Β, ει deleted before ἥπερ R, ἥπερ rel. 1271 ᾤχετ' εἴτ' ἐκεῖ] om Γ 1272 μόνος] -os from -ois R μόνοις] μόνοισι BVp₂⁺ Πενέσταισι] αι from ε V, πενέσταισιν R, -ais Β 1273 ξυνήν] R¹V¹, ξυνειν RV τοῖς] τῶν Β 1274 ἐλάττων lib. οὐδενός] Γ^r, οὐδέν Γ 1275 πᾶς Γ, παραβασις Β. χ Vp₂⁺ μακαρίζομεν] Γ^r, μακα Γ 1276 ἐμφυτεύσας Vp₃⁺

- 1277 ἅπασιν R φίλον] φῖνον (or φῖλον?) V 1278 καθαροῖδο-
 τατον HC ὦ] αἰ V, ὦ Vp2+Vp3+ ἐφέπετο RVp3+ 1279 σοφός
 Vp2+ 1280 ἀριστράδην Vp2+ 1281 ὤμοσεν Γ 1282 φύσεως lib.
 1283 γλωττοποιεῖν] B²γρ, γρωττοποιεῖν B εἰς lib. πορνεία Γ
 1284 —R, ἐπιρρη(μα) ΓB εἰσὶν RV καταδιηλλάγη^{εν} BΔ, καταδι-
 ηλλάγειν Γ, κατηδιηλλάγην Vp3+ 1285 ὑπετάραττεν] first ε in ras.
 (space for two or three letters) B, ὑπερτάραττεν RVVp3+ 1286 ἔκνι-
 σεν Γ κάθ' R ἀποδειρόμην Vp2+ 1287 οὐκτὸς] οἰ'κτὸς BVp2,
 οἰ'κτρὸς H, ἐκτὸς rel. θεώμενοι] BVp2+, μ' οἱ θεώμενοι B² rel.
 1289 σκωμάτιον Vp2+ εἶπω τέ τι Γ ἐκβαλῶ] R, -βάλω VΓ,
 -βάλλω rel. 1290 ταῦτα] B, ταυτὶ rel. ἐπιθήκισα] second ι from
 η and ι(?) deleted after α R, ἐπιθέκισον Vp3+ 1292 ΞΑ] θε(ράπων)
 RΓBVp3+, οἰκέτης V, om Vp2+ τοῦ] ποῦ Vp2+ 1293 om Γ
 τρις] R, τρισ rel. τέγους] στεγειν R, om VVp3+, ἐμαῖς BVp2+
 1294-1295 om R, add R² κατηρίψασθε R², κατηγέψασθε Γ 1295 τὸ]
 τ' V, τὸν Vp3+ πληγὰς] B, πλευρὰς Bγρ rel. 1296 —R δὲ
 RV 1297 ἦ] ἦις R, ἦις (?) V, ἦς ΓVp3+ 1298 λάβοι Vp2,
 λαβοίη H 1299 ΞΑ] —R, om V, θ(ερ) rel. ὁ] ὦ Vp2+ γέρων]
 B, δέρων ΓBγρ 1300 ξυνόν V παροικώτατος Vp2+
 1301 Ἴππυλλος] R, ἱππυλος rel. ἀντιφών V, ἀντίφων Γ 1302 θού-
 φραστος ΓVp3+ 1304 ἐνέπληστο B 1305 ἐνήλλατ' BV2+Vp3+
 : after ἐνήλατ' R : and sp after ἐσκίρτα Γ πεπούρδει Γ, πεπόρδει rel.
 1306 καγχρῶν B 1307 κᾶτυπτεν ἐμέ] κᾶτυπτε με R, κατυπτέ (κᾶτ-
 Vp3+) VVp3+, κᾶτυπτε δὴ με Γ^rBVp2+, om Γ (but space left) 1308
 ἦκασεν] RB, -ε rel. 1309 τρυγί] τρύσιον Vp3, τρυσίον C 1310 αχυ-
 ρον RV, ἀχυρῶν' ΓVp3+, ἀχυρῶνας Γ^rBVp2+ 1311 ὁ δ' ἀνακραγῶν]
 Γ^r, sp Γ 1312 τρι deleted before τὰ R θρία RVVp3+, θρία
 and sp Γ, θρία γε Γ^rBVp2+ 1313 διακεκαρμῖω Vp3?C 1314 θού-
 φράστου RV 1315 δι' ἐμύλαινεν V 1316 om Γ θού'φραστον
 R, θ'ου- V, θού- Vp3+ 1317 ἐπὶ τω (τω, Vp3+) Vp2+Vp3+ κόμας
 ΓVp2+, κοσμάς Vp3+ προσποεῖ RV, -ποιῇ B 1318 om R, add
 R¹ at top of page κωμωδολυχῶν Γ, κωμωδοτριχῶν Vp3+, κωμωδολι-
 χῶν Δ 1321 ἀμαθέστ' R 1322 ἔπειτα V μέθυεν RΓ, μ (μ' H)
 ἔθυεν Vp2+ 1323 αὐτῶν Vp2+ ξυντύχοι Vp2+Vp3+ 1324 καὶ
 δὴ] B, δὴ καὶ RΓVp2+, καὶ VVp3+ 1326 ἄναχε Vp3+ 1327
 κλαύσετέ Vp2+ 1329 εἰ μὴ] εἰ μη RV, εἰ μὴ Vp3+, ἐμοὶ Γ ῥρήσεθ']
 Γ and (ρρ) R^o?, ρρήσεσθ' RVp2Vp3+, 'ρρήσεσθ' rel. 1330 ταῦτη Γ,

ταύτη rel. (η from α R?) 1331 δαῖδι Vp2, δάϊδι H, δαῖδι rel. (-ι from -η C) 1332 ΕΥΜΠΟΤΗΣ ΤΙΣ] βδ RVp2⁺Vp3⁺, om rel. (but see on 1333) αὔριον] δίκην Vp3⁺ (repeating δίκην after τούτων) 1333 βδ ΓΒ ἡμῖν] Γ, ἡ μὴν Γ^c ἅπασιν RVΓ σφόδρα εἶ (εἶ R) RV, σφοδρεῖ Γ · νεανίας] V¹, νεανικῶς? V, θανίας Vp3⁺ 1334 ἀθρόοι (ἀθρόοι V) lib. σε in ras. Γ? 1335 ΦΙ] —R, om VΓB ιῆ] Vp2⁺, ιῆ R, ιῆ ΓBVp3⁺ ιηιεῦ V 1338 ιαιβοῦ] : over ι B^c (meaning to delete?), om VΓ 1339 τάδε 'μ'] H, τάδ' 'μ' Vp2H¹ βάλε V 1340 ἄπεισι] ἄπεισι γὰρ BVp2⁺ ἡμῖν] om lib. ἐμποδῶν (-ὦν H) Vp2⁺ 1344 οὐχ Vp2⁺ 1345 σ'] γ' B ὑφειλοίμην R 1346 λεσβιᾶν] om V, λεσβιεῖν rel. (;) after ξυμπότας BVp2 1347 εἶνεκ' (-χ' Vp2) lib. 1348 οὐδὲ φιαλεῖς (-λῶς Γ) RVΓBVp2⁺, ἀλλὰ φιαλεῖς Vp3⁺ 1349 ἐξάπατήσης V κάγχανῆ Γ τούτω μέγα] om Γ τούτω from τοῦτο Δ 1350 αὐτεργάσω Γ αὐτ' RVp3⁺ εἰργάσω lib. (except Γ)

1352 ἐγὼ σ'] ἐσῶς' Vp2 δε deleted before σ' Δ 1353 λυσάμενος C εξω R, ἔξω VΓVp2⁺ (ἐξῶ Vp2), ἐξω Vp3⁺ παλακὴν V χοιρίων? Vp3 (but corrected?) 1355 om C, add C¹ in marg. εἰμ' Vp2⁺ 1356 τῶ Vp3⁺ υἱδιον] RV, υἱιδιον ΓB, υἱῖδη Vp2⁺, υἱῖδι Vp3⁺ 1357 κυμνοπριστοκαρδαμόγλυφον (κ'ὕμῖνοπρ- R) lib. 1358 μου] VΓ, 'μοῦ B, ἐμοῦ rel. διαφθαρώ] V, -φθερῶ V¹?Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 1360 δέ] om R ἐρίκε] ἐρικε Vp2⁺ 1361 τὰς δαίτας R, τὰς δετας V¹ (from ταδετας), τὰςδε τὰς H 1362 θωτάσω Vp2⁺, τῶ θάσω Vp3⁺ 1363 οἷως ποθ' B, οἷος ποθ' Vp2⁺, οἷω ἐπόθ' Vp3, οἷω ἐπόθ' C 1364 ΒΔ] —R, om V οὗτος once only Vp2 χαιρόθλιψ' R, χειρόθλιξ Vp3⁺ 1365 ποθεῖς VΓ ὠραίους H, -αις Vp3⁺ σωροῦ V (but corrected?) 1366 —R οὔτοι] οὔτοι Vp2 καταπροίξη Vp3⁺ (ρ added sup. in C) τοῦτο] ταυτὸ V, ταυτὶ Γ 1367 ΦΙ] —R, om V 1368 ΒΔ] —R, om VΓB (cf. 1369) τωθάξει C sp before τὴν Vp3⁺ 1369 συμποτῶν VΓ ΦΙ] : RV, βδ Γ, sp B (which from this point has not entered names of speakers) 1371 ΒΔ] —R, om V, φι Γ σοί] BVp2⁺, τοί rel. γ' ἡ] γε Γ, δ' ἡ γ' ἡ Vp3⁺ 1372 ΦΙ] —R, om V, βδ Γ δαῖς Γ, δαῖς rel. κάεται] RVp3⁺, καίεται rel. 1373 ΒΔ] om RVΓ δαῖς Γ, δαῖς rel. ἦδε V ΦΙ] Vp2⁺, : RVΓ, βδ Vp3⁺, sp B δαῖς Γ, δαῖς rel. 1374 ΒΔ] Vp2⁺, —RV, om rel. μέλαν] R^c, μέλλαν R αὐτῆς] om V τούν] ν from μ (?) R, ἐν V 1375 om Γ (but line left blank), add Γ^r ΦΙ] —R, om VΓ^r πίττα from

πτίττα Γ^r δῆτ' οὐ Vp3⁺ καομένοις Γ^r 1376 BΔ] —RV, om R^oΓ
 ὁ δ' οἷδ' Γ ἔστι Γ 1377 ΦΙ] om RVVp2 ὄξος] Γ^r, ὄξων Γ
 δαδός] om R (but space left), δαιδός Γ, δαδός Vp2, δαδός rel. οὕτως
 Vp3⁺ 1378 repeated in B; second line deleted ὄξος] Γ^r, om V,
 sp Γ σύ] σ Γ 1379 ΦΙ] εταῖρα R, —V, om Γ BΔ] in marg.
 R¹, : R, om VΓ, sp B λαβ Vp3, λαβ C 1381 ΦΙ] : R, sp ΓB
 1382 φιλ R Ὀλυμπίασιν] VC¹, -ιασιν R, -ιασιν ΓC, -ιασιν Vp3,
 -ιασι Vp2⁺, -ιασι BΔ¹?, -ιασι Δ; add γὰρ BVp2⁺ 1383–1384 om Γ
 ἐφοῦδιων R ἔμαχαίσατ' Vp2 ἀσκόνδα Vp2⁺ 1384 θένων lib.
 1385 κατέβαλλε R 1386 ὑπώπιον V 1387 BΔ] —V, om ΓVp2⁺
 1388 ΑΡΤΟΠΩΛΙΣ] Vp3⁺ (cf. 1389), γυνή τις προς μάρτυρα τινα R
 (schol. in marg.), om rel. τὸν θῶν Vp2 1389 γυνή τις before vs.
 Vp3⁺ (belongs to 1388) ἀνήρ lib.; placed after ἔστιν Vp3⁺, after
 μ' BVp2⁺ ἀπώλεσε Vp3⁺ 1390 δαίδι R, δαδὶ rel. ἐντεῖθεν Γ
 1391 ὀβολῶν] ὁ βαλὼν R κάπιθηκαν V, καπιθήκεν Γ τέτταρας]
 om Γ 1392 BΔ] om Vp3⁺ (;) after δέδρακας] point R, om rel.
 αὖ] ἂν V, ἂν Vp2⁺ (;) after αὖ (ἂν) BVp2Vp3⁺, (,) H, point VΓ
 1393 ΦΙ] om R 1394 —R λόγον Γ διαλλέξουσιν Γ, διαλλά-
 ζουσιν C, διαλλάξουσιν (?) Δ δεξιοί] Γ^r, om Γ 1395 ὅτι ἡ RΓ, οἶ τιῇ
 Vp3⁺ διαλεχθήσομαι Γ, διαλλαθήσομαι Vp3⁺ 1396 AP] —R,
 γυνή VVp3⁺, om ΓVp2⁺ μὰ] νῇ Vp3⁺ καταπροΐζει VC 1397–
 1494^a om Γ 1397 ἀγγυλιωνος Vp3⁺ σωστάτης Vp2⁺ 1399 ΦΙ]
 —R λόγου Vp2⁺ βουλήσομαι Vp3⁺ 1400 AP] : R, γυνή R¹
 (in marg.) VVp3⁺, γυνὴ (as part of text) Vp2⁺ δι' V ῥμοί] R,
 μοι rel. μέλεε Vp2⁺, μέλε Vp3, ῥμελε from ῥμέλε C
 1401 ΦΙ] —R Αἴσωπον] ἄσω τὸν V βαδίζοντ' RVVp3⁺
 1402 ὑλακτεῖ lib. 1404 πόθεν] πόθιεν Vp2⁺ 1405 δοκοῖς B, -ῆς
 Vp3⁺ (ῆ by corr. Vp3) 1406 AP] om RVp2⁺, γυνή VVp3⁺ 1409
 ΦΙ] —V 1410 λάσος R (so 1411) ἀντεδίδασκεν R, ἀνδίδασκε Vp3⁺
 1411 μέλλει VVp2⁺ 1412 AP] βδ ἡ θερ R, om V, βδ rel. (but cf.
 1413) ΦΙ] om lib. 1413 θερ Vp3⁺ κλητεύεις B εὐκῶς] C¹,
 εὐκός C 1415 BΔ] V, θ(ερ) rel. ὁδὶ τις] ὁδίτης Δ 1416 τοι]
 om Vp2⁺ 1417 ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ] —RV, om Vp2⁺, ἀνήρ τις Vp3⁺
 οἷμοι] V, ὦμοι R, ὦ μοι BVp3⁺, ὦ μοι Vp2⁺ κακοδαίμων] ω from ο
 B, κακοδαίμον Vp2⁺Vp3, -δαίμων C σ' ὁ γέρων B 1418 εὐρι-
 πί(δης) before vs. Vp3⁺ BΔ] om R (no sp) : after ὕβρεως R,
 βδ in marg. R¹ καλέσης (-ης) lib. 1419 δίδωμί σοι (σοι by cor-

rection C) δίκην Vp₃⁺ 1420 προείσομαι Vp₂Vp₃⁺, προΐσομαι H
 1421 διαλεχθήσομαι R, διαλλαγήσομαι Vp₃⁺ 1423 δευρὶ πρότερον
 lib. 1424 ἀποτίσαντ' lib. (-τισ- from -τησ- R) ἀργύριον] two
 letters (γυ?) erased after αρ R πράγματος] τραύματος B 1425 λοι-
 πόν] λιπὸν (λ by correction) C 1426 KA] —R, om Vp₂⁺ δέομαι
 V 1427 ΦΙ] —R 1428 μεγάλ' RV 1429 ἐτύγχανε Vp₂⁺
 Vp₃⁺ 1430 εἶπ' V¹, εἶπεν V 1431 ἔρδοι] R?V, ἔρδοι Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺,
 ἔρδει B εἰδοίη Vp₃⁺ 1432 εἰς lib. 1433 BΔ] βδελ πρὸς τὸν
 κλητ(ήρα) RV σου] σοι R 1434 KA] om R (— deleted) ἀπεκρί-
 νατο] ἀπ- RVVp₃⁺, ἂν (ἂν Vp₂⁺) ἀπεκρίνατο BVp₂⁺ 1435 ΦΙ] om R
 Συβάρει] βάρει R γυνή] γιωή Vp₃⁺ 1436 KA] : RV, βδ Vp₃⁺
 1437 ΦΙ] —RV οὖν R^o sup. 1438 εἶπεν from εἶχεν (?) V εἰ
 ναί] εἶναι Vp₂⁺ 1441 KA] κλητ R, om V ἕως] ὥς H ἄρχων
 lib. καλῇ] καλκῶν Vp₂, κακῶν H 1442 δήμετραν V ἔτ'] om
 Vp₂⁺ εὐταυθοῖ Vp₃⁺ 1443 ἀῖράμενος R γ' οἷσω σε Vp₂⁺, γ'
 ἔγωγε B ΦΙ] : R ποεῖς RV BΔ] : RV ποῶ RV 1444 —R
 δὲ μή] δεμῆς Vp₃⁺ 1445 ἐπικλητῆρες λείψουσι V κλητῆρας Δ
 1446 ΦΙ] βδ R, om V ποτε Vp₂⁺ BΔ] corr. from φ H, : R, om V
 ὀλίγογον Vp₂ 1447 ΦΙ] —RV, om rel. 1448 καίθαρος Vp₃C?
 1449 BΔ] —RV, om Vp₂⁺ ἀπολῶ σ'] ἀπολείς lib. τοῖς RVVp₃⁺
 1450 γε] σε B

1451 μέτεστι B, -έστιν Vp₃, -έστι C 1454 μέγα τι] om BVp₂⁺
 μεταπεσεῖται] μεταπίσεται VBp₂⁺, μέγα πείσεται R, πείσεται Vp₃⁺
 1455 τὸ] om R τρυφὸν RVp₃⁺, ῥυφᾶν V, τρυφερὸν rel. 1458 φύ-
 σεος] Vp₂H¹, φύσεως H? rel. ἔχοι] R, -ει rel. 1461 μετεβάλλοντο
 RV 1463 φρονόσι Vp₃⁺ 1464 ἄπεισιν] B, -σι rel. 1466 ὁ
 παῖς] παῖς BVp₂⁺ 1469 ἐπαμάνην Vp₂⁺ 1471 οὐ] ὁ R
 1472 τοὺς φύσαντας BVp₂⁺ 1473 κατακοσμῆσαι] κατακληῆσαι Vγρ
 (in schol.) πράγμασι Vp₃⁺Δ? 1474 ΞΑ] οικε(της) RVp₃⁺, om
 rel. πράγματα] B, τὰ πράγματα rel. 1475 εἰσκεκύκληκεν RV,
 εἰσκεκλήκηκεν Vp₃⁺, εἰσκέκληκεν BVp₂⁺ εἰς lib. 1476 ἔπινε Vp₃⁺
 1477 ἦκασέ R 1478 παύεται] V, παύσεται rel. 1481 τὸν νοῦν lib.
 1482 ἐπαυλείοισι (-αῖσι or -ασι? V) lib. θράσσει H, θάσσι C
 1483 ΞΑ] βδ V, οι(κετ) rel. τὸ] om Vp₂⁺ 1484 ΦΙ] —RV
 χαλασθίω Vp₃⁺ : before καὶ RV, οι(κ) Vp₂⁺Vp₃⁺, sp B γὰρ δὴ
 BVp₂⁺ 1486 ΞΑ] θερ R, om rel. 1487 ΦΙ] om RV λυγι-
 σαντος] R² in marg., τας (sic) R, λιγύσαντες B ὑπαὶ BVp₂⁺ 1489

σφόνδυτος Vp3⁺ ἀχῇ Vp2, ἀρχῇ H ΞΑ] —R, om V, οι(κ) rel.
 πῖθ' Vp3⁺ ἐλλέβορον (-εβόρον V) lib. 1490 ΦΙ] —R, om V
 πτήσει V (and Vp3 at first) ὥς τις] ὅστις VVp3⁺ 1491 ΞΑ] —R,
 om V, οι(κ) rel. βαλλήσῃ R, βαλήσεις V 1492 ΦΙ] —R, om
 V γ'] BVp2⁺, om rel. 1493 ΞΑ] om V, οι(κ) rel. 1494 ΦΙ]
 om lib. Γ resumes with τοῖς 1495 χαλαρά] Γ^ο, χαρὰ Γ κοτυ-
 λιδῶν (ω from ο) V, κοτυληδῶν (or κοντ-?) Vp3⁺ 1496 βδ before οὐκ
 RVp2⁺Vp3⁺ (;) and ΒΔ] om lib. δῆτα Γ 1497 φέρε δὲ νῦν
 Vp2⁺ καταγωνιστὰς V, κᾶντ' ἀγ- H, κάνταγωνιστὰς C καλῶ from
 καλῶς C 1500 φησὶ Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ τις] τῆς C (;)] point BVp2
 Vp3⁺, om rel. ΞΑ] om R, : VΓ, sp B, βδ rel. εἰς γ'] om B
 1501 ΦΙ] —R, om VΓ ΞΑ] —R, om V, : Γ, βδ Vp2Vp3⁺, βοι
 H 1502 μεσαίτατος R, μέσσατος Γ^ογρ ΦΙ] —R, om V, : Γ
 ἄλλον Γ γέ] τε Γ 1503 ἀπολλῶ ΓC ἐμμελεία] V, -λίαϊ R, -λια
 V1? κονδυλίου Vp3⁺ 1504 ΞΑ] : RΓ, om V, βδ Vp2Vp3⁺, βοι H
 ὦ'ζυρε B, ὦ'ζυρε Δ rel. 1505 καρκινίτις V, -ίτις Γ, -ήτης Δ (H at first?)
 1506 ΦΙ] : RVΓ ὀψώνηκ' (ὀ- R) lib. 1507 ΞΑ] —R, om VΓ,
 βδ rel. 1508 αὐ τῶν] B, αὐτῶν rel. 1509 ΦΙ] —R, om VΓ
 τουτὶ] τὸ τί Γ ὅξις (?) V ἦ] ἡ Γ φάλαγξ] V1, φάλαξ RVH
 1510 ΞΑ] —R, om VΓ, βδ rel. ἐστι] -ι from -ιν R 1511 ὃς μικρό-
 τatos H, ὀσμικρότατος Vp3⁺ ποεῖ RVΓ 1512 ΦΙ] —V, om Γ
 ὦ] ὦ μακάρι (μάκαρ' H) Vp2⁺ καρκῖν' Γ μακάριε] μακάρι' V
 1513 κατέπεσε ΓVp2⁺Vp3⁺ 1514 γ'] om Vp3⁺ μ'] RVΓ, om rel.
 ὦ'ζυρε B, ὦ'ζυρε rel. 1516 ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς Γ (corr. Γ^ο) ὀλίγου Vp3⁺
 ξυγχωρήσωμεν] Γ^οΔ1, -σομεν ΓΔVp3⁺, συγχωρήσωμεν Vp2 and (συγχ-)
 H ἅπασιν (-ι C) Vp3⁺ 1517 βεμβικίζωσιν] μεν deleted before
 σιν R, -σι(?) Δ 1518–1520 om R, add R² ἡμιχ Vp3⁺ 1519
 θαλασίου R²V θεοῦ] om lib. 1521 ἀτρυγέτοιο lib. 1523 πόδ' ἐν
 (H1, ἄν Vp2H) κύκλω(ι) σοβεῖτε (Vγρ Γ^Rγρ, στροβεῖτε VΓ) lib. 1524
 καὶ] om Γ 1526 ἡμιχ Vp3⁺ ἄδοντες Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ 1527 ὠίζωσιν R,
 ὠζωσι (?) Δ, ὠσιν Vp3⁺ 1528 —R 1529 σ' αὐτόν Vp2⁺ 1530 ῥί-
 πτε lib. σκέλο Δ 1531 βόμβικες Vp2⁺ γενέσθων (γένεσ- Γ) VΓ
 1532 παντομέδων (μ from δ) H, πουτομέδων Vp3⁺ 1534 παισὶν
 VB τοῖς] Vp2⁺, -σι rel. τριόρχαις BVp2⁺ 1536 δέδρασκεν
 Vp2⁺ 1537 ὀρχούμενός τις R, ὀρχούμενος ὅστις Γ ἀπήλλαξε Γ,
 -ξε Vp2⁺Vp3⁺ χορὸν] χθρὸν Vp3⁺ τρυγῶδων] RV1Γ, τραγῶδων
 Vp3⁺, τραγῶδων V rel.

IMPERIAL CORONATION CEREMONIES OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES

BY A. E. R. BOAK

IN the mass of material which Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, assembled in his work on the Imperial Ceremonies lie certain excerpts from the *περὶ πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως* of Peter the Patrician, Master of the Offices under Justinian.¹ Among these fragments are some descriptions of imperial *ἀναγορεύσεις* or proclamations, dating from the end of the fifth and the early sixth centuries, recorded by Peter for the guidance of future sovereigns.² Although these ceremonies have not been altogether neglected by students familiar with the historical sources of this period,³ nevertheless they deserve more attention than they have generally received, because of their value in illustrating contemporary opinion regarding the source and character of the imperial power. Therefore in the following pages I have given a summary of the proceedings upon each of these occasions, and then endeavored to show what general conclusions may be drawn therefrom as to the constitutional position of the Roman Emperor at the period in question.

I. THE PROCLAMATION OF LEO I⁴

After the senate had voted in favor of Leo, the officials, the scholars or palace guard, and the soldiers assembled in the Campus Martius. The *labara* and other standards rested upon the ground. The multitude then called for Leo as Emperor in the name of the state, the senate, the army, the palace and the people. Leo, at that time a

¹ Cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 293. *De Caerimoniis*, I, 84 ff.

² *De Caer.* I, 91 fin.

³ Cf. Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*; Sickel, "Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1898; Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1901.

⁴ 457 A.D. *De Caer.*, I, 91, 410.

comes and a tribune of the Mattiarii,¹ was then brought in and ascended the tribunal. Thereupon Bousalgus, a *campiductor*,² placed on his head a soldier's chain (*μανιάκης*, *torques*), while Olympius, also a campiductor, put another on his right arm. The standards were raised at once and all acclaimed Leo as Augustus, appointed by God and under God's protection. On the tribunal itself he assumed the imperial robe and the diadem, and, armed with lance and shield, he received the homage (*προσεκυνήθη*) of the officials in order of rank. Then, through the mouth of a clerk, he addressed the people, styling himself Autocrator Caesar Leo, Victor, Augustus for ever, the appointee of God and the elect of the soldiers, to whom he promised the customary donative. Leo then returned to the city, where he visited, among other places, the church of St. Sophia. There he deposited his crown upon the altar, and as he left the church the (Arch)bishop placed it again upon his head.

After the time of Leo, the imperial proclamations regularly were made within the city, in the Hippodrome.

2. THE PROCLAMATION OF ANASTASIUS³

On the day after the death of Zeno, the officials, senators and (Arch)bishop met in a portico of the palace, while the people and the soldiers assembled in the Hippodrome. To still the clamors of the latter the officials persuaded the widowed Augusta, Ariadne, to go to the Hippodrome and address them. The people demanded an orthodox Emperor, and she, replying through a secretary, stated that in anticipation of their demands, she had ordered the most glorious officials and the sacred senate to select, with the approval of the soldiery, an Emperor, who was a Christian, of Roman birth, and possessed of all royal virtues. This election would be made in the presence of the Gospels publicly exhibited and before the Patriarch of Constantinople. Finally, she nominated a new Urban Prefect. But when the officials and the senate deliberated about a successor they could

¹ *Mattiarii juniores* and *seniores*, two legions of the Palatini, *N. D. Or.* V, 47 and VI, 42 (Seeck). One corps under Leo was stationed at Selymbria, Candidus, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 135.

² A drill-master of high rank.

³ 491 A.D. *De Caer.* I, 92, 417.

reach no decision, and ultimately Urbicius, the Chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*), advised giving Ariadne the authority to nominate the new Emperor. The others agreed and asked the Bishop to offer her this power. Thereupon Ariadne chose Anastasius, a silentiary,¹ who was summoned from his home and kept in the palace until the obsequies of the late Emperor were completed. On the next day, the officials and the senate in the presence of the Archbishop took an oath from Anastasius that he would cherish no animosity against his former enemies and that he would govern uprightly and conscientiously. After this Anastasius went up into the imperial box (*κάθισμα*) in the Hippodrome, wearing part of the imperial garb, but without the diadem. The soldiers were drawn up below, with their standards resting on the ground, while the people occupied the seats. Anastasius was then raised standing upon a shield and the campiductor of the Lancearii² placed his own chain upon the Emperor's head, whereupon the standards were raised amid the acclamations of the soldiers and people. Anastasius next descended from the shield and entered the palace, where the Patriarch clad him in the imperial robe (*χλαμύς*) and placed on his head the jeweled crown. He returned to the *kathisma*, greeted the multitude and was hailed as Augustus. Then followed his address to the people, read by a secretary, in which he promised the usual donative to the soldiers and announced that he held the imperial authority as the nominee of the Augusta Ariadne, and the choice of the officials, senate and soldiers, agreed to by the people, under the merciful guidance of the Holy Trinity. After a visit to St. Sophia, Anastasius returned to the palace and promoted to the Urban Prefecture the nominee of Ariadne.

3. THE PROCLAMATION OF JUSTIN I³

Anastasius died at night and as there was no surviving Emperor or Augusta to assume the reins of power or suggest a successor, the Silentaries sent word to Celer, the Master of the Offices, and Justin,

¹ *Silentiarii*, a corps of thirty personal attendants of the Emperor, under the Grand Chamberlain.

² *Lancearii seniores* and *juniores*, legions of the Palatini at Constantinople, *N. D. Or.* V, 42 and VI, 47 (Seeck).

³ 519 A.D. *De Caer.* I, 93, 426.

the Commander of the Bodyguard (*comes excubitorum*) to come to the palace. Upon their arrival the former summoned the *candidati*¹ and the other scholars, the latter called together the soldiers, the tribunes, the *vicarii*, and the seniors of the bodyguard.² Each announced the death of the Emperor and urged the necessity of their taking council in common to choose an Emperor pleasing to God and useful to the state. At dawn the officials assembled and the populace gathered in the Hippodrome, appealing to the senate for an Emperor. And when the officials, with the Archbishop, were disputing over various candidates, Celer advised them to act quickly or others would make a nomination in which they would have to concur. And first the bodyguard proclaimed as Emperor a tribune named John and raised him on a shield, but the faction of the Veneti (Blues) disapproved and stoned him and his supporters, while some of their own number were shot by the guards. Next the scholars raised upon a table in a chamber of the palace a patrician, who was also a Master of the Soldiers (*magister militum*), and intended to crown him, but the guards set upon them, took him and would have put him to death but for the intervention of Justinian, then a *candidatus*. Then the guards tried to compel Justinian to accept the crown but he excused himself. Finally, the senators agreed upon Justin. Some of the scholars opposed to him attacked and wounded him, but the decision of the senators, backed by the soldiers and the populace, for the factions of the Blues and the Greens (*Prasinoi*) supported him, prevailed. The chamberlains then sent the imperial robes which they had refused to deliver to the supporters of the other nominees. Justin ascended the *kathisma* in the Hippodrome and, elevated upon a shield, received the soldier's chain which was placed upon his head by Godila, the campiductor of the *Lanciarii*. The raising of the standards followed, and Justin donned the imperial garb. The Bishop placed the crown on his head and, taking lance and shield, he reascended the *kathisma*, where the people saluted him as Augustus. There followed the usual address to the people, read by a secretary, wherein the Emperor asserts his right to the Basileia as the elect of God Almighty, chosen by all acting in unison. The ceremony terminated as in the case of Anastasius.

¹ A *schola* of Palace Guards named from their white uniforms.

² The *excubitores*, a corps of 300, organized by Leo I.

4. THE PROCLAMATION OF LEO II¹

When Leo I was fatally ill, he was induced to appoint as co-Emperor his grandson, who had already been made Caesar. On November 16, 473, the populace and legates from various peoples assembled in the Hippodrome, where the soldiers stood in ranks with their standards. The populace in Greek, and the soldiers in Latin, called for the Emperor to appear. He came escorted by the senators and began to address the assembly, which besought him to crown the new Emperor. He promised to do so and then they shouted to send the Master of the Offices and the patricians to bring in the Caesar, which he ordered done. The Caesar was introduced and placed on the Emperor's left, while the Bishop stood on his right and offered prayer. Then the Emperor, taking the crown from the chamberlain, placed it upon the head of the Caesar. The Bishop departed and the senior Emperor took his seat. The new Emperor saluted the people who hailed him as Augustus. After the Urban Prefect and the senate had made him the usual present of a crown of gold he addressed the soldiers, promising them the customary donative.

5. THE PROCLAMATION OF JUSTINIAN²

When Justin I was lying seriously ill, upon the advice of the senate, he proclaimed Justinian co-Emperor in the Great Triclinium of the palace. On April 4th, 525, Justin ordered an audience to be held in the building of the palace called the Delphax, where the scholars and all the corps of soldiers were assembled. The Bishop was present, offered prayer, and crowned Justinian. Everything else passed off as at the coronation of Leo II, except that it took place in the Delphax and not in the Hippodrome.

Disregarding the significance of many interesting features of these inaugural ceremonies, some of which have been omitted from the above synopsis, I propose to direct attention to two points; namely, the powers which appointed the Emperor and the meaning of the change in the coronation ceremonial illustrated by the examples already given in detail.

¹ 473 A.D. *De Caer.* I, 94, 431.

² 525 A.D. *De Caer.* I, 95, 432.

It will have been noticed that we are here dealing with two distinct types of ceremonies. The one, which is illustrated by the first three instances, was that employed in the proclamation of an Emperor when the throne had become vacant; the other, that of the remaining two examples, when a second Emperor was appointed by the Augustus then on the throne. We shall discuss each of these forms in turn.

First, then, the nomination to a vacant throne, as in the cases of Leo I, Anastasius, and Justin I. Upon all three occasions the right of nomination was exercised by the officials and the senate, acting together. This nomination was approved by the soldiers and acquiesced in by the populace of Constantinople.

Who these officials were, we are not told specifically, for they are designated by the non-committal name of ἀρχοντες. However, there can be little doubt that they were the holders of the higher *dignitates palatinae*: the members of the imperial consistory or council of state and occupants of other military and civil offices which required their constant presence at the seat of government. Most probably this group included only those whose offices entitled them to the *Illustrissimate*, the highest of the grades of rank open to the officials of the later empire. Among those who played prominent parts at various nominations we have specifically mentioned the Master of the Offices, the Grand Chamberlain and the Count of the Bodyguard.

With these officials there met in joint council the senate. Now from about the middle of the fifth century the imperial senate consisted only of those members of the senatorial order who had attained the *Illustrissimate*.¹ Thus the senate was an aggregate of officers and ex-officers who had attained the highest positions in the imperial service, as well as others whose influence had secured for them this coveted grade of rank. It had become an assemblage of imperial functionaries: an enlarged consistory.¹ The joint meeting of the officials and the senate was, therefore, nothing more than a gathering of the most influential members of the official class.

This was the body, then, that had the right to make nominations to the vacant throne and, under normal conditions, was regularly able to secure recognition for its candidate. Not only could it exercise this right itself, but it could also delegate it to others, as it did to the

¹ Lécervain, *Le sénat romain depuis Diocletien*, 64 ff.

Augusta Ariadne when seeking a successor to Zeno. But even under these circumstances the nomination was regarded as that of the officials and senate. However, these were well aware that they enjoyed no exclusive prerogative of nomination. For, upon the death of Anastasius, the Master of the Offices and the Count of the Bodyguard informed the *candidati*, scholars and guardsmen of the necessity of their all taking counsel to find a suitable successor. Further, Celer, the Master, impressed upon the senate the need of reaching a decision quickly, before a candidate was nominated elsewhere. And, in fact, before the officials agreed upon Justin, both the bodyguard and the scholars had put forward candidates, who, however, had been unable to overcome the determined opposition of rival factions.

It is apparent, therefore, that even the candidate who was the nominee of the officials and the senate had to have the support of the soldiery to make his election secure. From the instances detailed above we have seen that the most prominent representatives of this element were the scholars or palace guards, and the *excubitores* or imperial bodyguards. But these were by no means the only troops concerned. In the neighborhood of the capital, under the command of the Masters of the Soldiers in the Presence (*magistri militum praesentales*) were stationed detachments of the Palatini, who formed part of the mobile forces of the later empire. At the opening of the fifth century these comprised 12 legions and 35 other infantry corps called *auxilia*. With these were associated 13 cavalry units (*vexillationes*) from the Comitatus, who, like the Palatini, were under the orders of the Masters of the Soldiers.¹ Allowing, with Mommsen,² an average of 1000 men to each of these corps, we get a total of some 60,000 as the nominal strength of the imperial troops stationed near Constantinople. And, although their effective strength may at this time have fallen far below that total, they formed a very considerable army conveniently located for participation in public ceremonies of this nature. Unquestionably they supplied the bulk of the troops who were present at the inauguration of the Emperors.

Unlike the soldiery, the populace of the capital had no recognized right to nominate an Emperor. It sat in the Hippodrome, as at the

¹ *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. V and VI (Seeck).

² "Das römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian," *Hermes*, 24, 195 ff.

horse races, divided in its factions of Blues and Greens, and awaited the announcement of the choice of the officials and soldiers. This opportunity the people used to complain against the grievances under which they suffered or against officials who had oppressed them, and also to demand an orthodox ruler. When a candidate for the throne was presented to them they expressed their approval by acclamations, their disapproval by rioting; but we have no reason to suppose that they could have forced the rejection of one who was solidly backed by the senate and the army.

It was with justice, therefore, that the Emperors who were raised to the throne in this manner declared that they had attained their power by the election of the officials, the senate, and the army, with the sanction of the people. This was the immediate source of their authority. Thus, as in the principate, so in the later empire, it was the senate and the army who appointed the wielder of the *imperium*, although both senate and army of the sixth resembled merely in name those of the first century.

We now come to the second type of inaugural ceremonies; that involved in the appointment of a Junior Emperor by the Augustus already on the throne. The procedure here differs materially from that in the instances considered above. And the reason therefor is not hard to seek, for in this case the nomination and appointment alike come from the ruling sovereign. It is true that such an appointment may be made upon the advice of the senate, but, whatever deference may be paid to the feelings of the officials and the army, the latter are not formally consulted as to their choice.

Thus the constitutional practice of the later empire recognized both election and coöptation to the throne. Election guaranteed a high average of ability among the Emperors: coöptation recognized the strength of dynastic claims. However, it is to be noted that neither the son of an Emperor nor any other member of his family had a right to the throne by virtue of his birth, but only by the will of the Augustus expressed in the act of nomination.

The consummation of the appointment to the imperial dignity was the act of coronation, which was followed by the assumption of the imperial regalia and the salutation as Augustus from the people and soldiers. From the instances before us we see that the coronation

ceremony underwent a transformation between 457 and 519 A.D. In the case of Leo I the significant incident is the coronation by the campiductor with a soldier's chain. Immediately thereafter the standards were raised and Leo was acclaimed as Augustus. His recognition as Emperor was therefore complete and what followed was of subsidiary importance. It was afterwards that he put on the diadem, which, during his visit to St. Sophia, he laid upon the altar, whence it was placed upon his head by the patriarch. But this reception of the diadem from the latter's hand did not form an essential part of the inaugural ceremony. With Anastasius, the raising of the standards likewise followed the coronation with the *torques*. But then came the assumption of the imperial insignia in the palace, where the Patriarch crowned him with the jeweled crown, and it was not until after he had again entered the *kathisma* that he was hailed as Augustus. The procedure was exactly the same in the case of Justin, except that the coronation with the diadem took place in the Hippodrome itself. By this time the coronation with the diadem had become as integral a part of the inauguration as the coronation with the *torques*.

The inauguration of Leo I was the old military ceremony, such as was regularly employed when an Emperor was proclaimed by his troops in camp or in the field, and differed in no essential features from the hasty coronation of Julian as Augustus at Paris in 360, so vividly described for us by Ammianus.¹ And, in fact, this was the regular usage from the close of the third to the middle of the fifth century. It signified that the Emperor was the choice of the soldiers. The change that was now brought about consisted in placing alongside this ceremony as an integral part of the inauguration the coronation with the diadem at the hands of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The reasons for this modification are not directly stated, nor is it sufficient to account for it as caused solely by the increasing elaboration of the court ceremonial. But perhaps we may find the true explanation in the significance of the wearing of the diadem. This crown, adorned with jewels, was first adopted by Constantine and his successors, in imitation of the Persian royal regalia, as indicative of the new position of the imperial ruler, already exemplified in Diocletian's assumption of the name Jovius. Henceforth he was to be recognized

¹ Amm. Mar., XX, 4, 14 ff.

as the absolute lord of all his subjects without distinction; the source of his authority both over the Italians and over their one time subjects, the provincials, was to be the same. Thus the diadem symbolized what was expressed by the title *dominus*. For Diocletian, as for the Hellenistic monarchs, this meant that the absolute ruler was deified; while for his Christian successors, the moral justification of their absolute power lay in their claim to be regarded as chosen by God and ruling under his divine guidance and protection. The diadem, consequently, symbolized the power derived from this high source.

Still the question remains, why was this given special stress at the period in question by making the coronation with the diadem an essential part of the inaugural ceremony? Partly, it may be, in an endeavour to accentuate the dignity of the Emperor, to mark him out as something more than the mere nominee of barbarian generals, as had been the later Western Emperors, and also to deter insurrection by emphasizing the divine support of the imperial authority; but still more, it seems to me, because of the union of Church and State in the East which, from the reign of Marcian, grew more and more complete until it culminated a movement culminating in the "Caesaropapism" of Justinian. This alliance was the result of the Council of Chalcedon (451), whereby orthodoxy was assured in the East, the supremacy of the see of Constantinople over those of Alexandria and Antioch definitely established, and the imperial suzerainty recognized in religious affairs.¹ It would only be natural, then, for fresh emphasis to be laid upon the divine source of the Emperor's power and this could best be accomplished by bringing into prominence the conferment of the diadem which symbolized his status as exalted above that of all other mortals.

Here, too, we find the explanation of the rôle of the Patriarch of Constantinople in placing this crown upon the head of the Emperor. That, as Bury has pointed out,² did not signify that the crown was the gift of the Church and its conferment by the Patriarch the mark of the Church's sanction of the election, necessary to complete the

¹ Cf. Gelzer, "Das Verhältnis von Kirche und Staat in Byzanz," *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 1901.

² *Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*, p. 12.

inauguration; but the significance of the act was that the Patriarch (regularly referred to in our sources as the Bishop, less frequently as the Archbishop), being the highest ecclesiastical officer in the state, was the logical person to bestow the symbol which indicated that the emperor ruled "by the grace of God."

It remains to say a word regarding the position of the Empress—the Augusta—at the death of the Emperor. We have seen above the account of the part played by Ariadne, widow of Zeno, in the selection of his successor Anastasius. From this it would seem that at Zeno's death she was regarded as the titular head of the state, for the people declare themselves her slaves (ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τῆς Αὐγούστης) and appeal to her for relief from an oppressive official. And she, in her turn, in addressing them, declared that she had ordered the senate and the officials to choose an Emperor, and after removing the officer complained of, she nominated a new Urban Prefect. Later, too, she made the nomination of Anastasius. But, in spite of all this display of power, the Augusta was not regarded as wielding the full imperial authority, for at the beginning of the coronation the standards of the troops were kept lowered to indicate that there was no holder of the military *imperium*. Also, when Ariadne addressed the people she did so upon the suggestion of the senate and officials, upon whom devolved the right of nomination to the vacant throne. Only by their own will did they delegate to her the right to name an Emperor, whereas the ruling Augustus could coöpt a colleague by virtue of his own power. Finally the nomination which Ariadne made to the Urban Prefecture required the confirmation of Anastasius to make it valid. We must recognize, then, that the imperial power at this period did not devolve upon the Augusta at the death of her consort, but her position and personal influence gave her considerable importance and power in the interval before the coronation of the successor to the throne.

THE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ENCOMIA OF CLAUDIUS CLAUDIAN¹

By LESTER B. STRUTHERS

THE most casual reader of the laudatory poems of Claudius Claudian can hardly fail to observe with what similarity of plan the various panegyrics were constructed. In his encomia the same divisions appear again and again, each time in almost the same order. It is the purpose of this paper to examine those poems in the light of the information given by the extant rhetorical treatises and to demonstrate how consistently Claudian follows the precepts of the rhetores.

The history of the inception and development of encomiastic writing and the general characteristics of epideictic literature have been so carefully discussed elsewhere that it has seemed unnecessary to treat these subjects anew.² It will be sufficient, perhaps, to call to mind the fact that the praise of a man's deeds is the natural kernel around which the formal panegyric developed. Before the Sophists and Aristotle, the origins of the panegyric are to be seen in Simonides, in Bacchylides, and in Pindar. These origins the Sophists studied as a basis for their work. Isocrates really developed the encomium as a literary *genre* by such innovations as the use of prose, the treatment of contemporary events, and the introduction of a man's deeds (*πράξεις*) as the foundation for the praise of his moral character. This last innovation is highly important, for all the rhetores who follow Isocrates define the panegyric as the laudation of an individual based on his deeds.

Having determined the aim of a panegyric, the various rhetores turn to the treatment of the separate heads, or *τόποι*, of an encomium. They

¹ I should like to take this occasion to express my gratitude to Professor Clifford H. Moore of Harvard University for the many valuable suggestions which he made when I was working on the doctorate thesis of which this article is in part an abridgment.

² Cf. T. C. Burgess: *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago, 1902, in *Studies in Classical Philology*, Univ. of Chicago, iii, 89-142.

arrange these in differing orders, often omitting some of them.¹ The main topics or divisions are given in the most thoroughly tabulated form by Aphthonius in his brief treatment of ἐγκώμιον:²

I. προοίμιον	
II. γένος	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ ἔθνος} \\ 2. \text{ πατρίς} \\ 3. \text{ πρόγονοι} \\ 4. \text{ πατέρες} \end{array} \right.$
III. ἀνατροφή	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ ἐπιτηδεύματα} \\ 2. \text{ τέχνη} \\ 3. \text{ νόμοι} \end{array} \right.$
IV. πράξεις (τὸ μέγιστον κεφάλαιον)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ ψυχὴ} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ἀνδρεία} \\ \text{φρόνησις} \end{array} \right. \\ 2. \text{ σῶμα} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{κάλλος} \\ \text{τάχος} \\ \text{ῥώμη} \end{array} \right. \\ 3. \text{ τύχη} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{δυναστεία} \\ \text{πλοῦτος} \\ \text{φίλοι} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$
V. σύγκρισις	
VI. ἐπίλογος	

From a comparison of the arrangements of the headings which the several rhetores give, it is clear that the ordinary encomium of a person included these following eight *τόποι* which, for the sake of avoiding repetition, will be treated here most briefly. Each one will receive more detailed discussion in that place where its relation to Claudian's panegyrics is handled.

1. *προοίμιον*. — The author will employ in his introduction anything which the subject suggests.³

2. *γένος*. — Under this heading it is fitting to deal with the ancestry of the person praised, his city, country, and race.

¹ I am indebted to the article by T. C. Burgess, mentioned above, for this discussion of the *τόποι* and their arrangement.

² Cf. *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. L. Spengel. Leipsic, 1853, ii, 36, 37 ff.

³ Cf. Nicolaus Sophista (Spengel, iii, 479, 27).

3. *γένεσις*. — At this point an encomiast should describe any noteworthy fact preceding or attending the birth of the person who is the object of the encomium, as, for example, an omen, a dream, or an oracular promise that the child would become illustrious.¹

4. *ἀνατροφή*. — Here come the accomplishments of youth, especially those which give "early indications of character, love of learning, natural ability, special aptitudes."²

5. *ἐπιτηδεύματα*. — Menander says that under this topic the author should set forth those acts which imply choice and so reveal character apart from *πράξεις ἀγωνιστικά*.³ It is evident that the *ἐπιτηδεύματα* and the *πράξεις* have much in common. In fact, if there were no acts implying choice and thus revealing character, there could hardly be any deeds of such importance as to be the foundation for the praise of a man's moral character.

The term *ἐπιτηδεύματα* has also an extended meaning, that of one's profession, as is clear from Anon. ad Aphthonium:⁴ *ἐπιτηδεύματα μὲν ἢ τοῦ βίου αἵρεσις, οἷον ὅτι εἴλετο στρατεύεσθαι*.

6. *πράξεις*. — Under this caption the author will discuss, in two great divisions, the deeds of the person praised, those of war and those of peace. All of his deeds are not to be given nor are they to be told chronologically, but are to be selected and arranged to illustrate the Socratic virtues, *ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις*.

The writer must bear in mind a principle upon which Aristotle insists:⁵ that inasmuch as the purpose of an encomium is to portray the character of the person praised, the author must examine the principles actuating the *πράξεις* and show an underlying moral purpose.⁶

¹ Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 3, 7, 11; see also Nicolaus Sophista (Spengel, iii, 480, 31 ff.); Menander (Spengel, iii, 371, 3); Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 12, 8).

² Cf. Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 429, 27): *ἡ δὲ ἀνατροφή τὴν παίδευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἀνδρας δηλοῦ πρόδον*. Cf. also Menander (Spengel, iii, 371, 18 ff.).

³ Spengel, iii, 384, 20: *ἐπιτηδεύματα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἔνδειξις τοῦ ἥθους καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνευ πράξεων ἀγωνιστικῶν*. Cf. also, Spengel, iii, 372, 4, and Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 431, 32); Theo (Spengel, ii, 110, 7); Nicolaus Sophista (Spengel, iii, 481, 10); Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 3, 7, 15.

⁴ Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* 43, 23. Cf. also Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 12, 16); Aphthonius (Spengel, ii, 36, 11); Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 429, 31); Menander (Spengel, iii, 332, 21).

⁵ *De Arte Rhetorica*, 1367 b, 21.

⁶ Cf. Burgess, p. 124. For the whole subject of the *πράξεις* see Menander (Spengel, iii, 372, 25 ff.); Theo (Spengel, ii, 111, 12 ff.); Aristotle, *De Arte Rhetorica*,

7. σύγκρισις. — The rhetores describe two kinds of comparison, the general (σύγκρισις τελειοτάτη) and the incidental (σύγκρισις μερική). In the general comparison, an entire subject is compared with one of like magnitude, as the reign of one king with the reign of some earlier king, or the career of one statesman with the career of another.¹ In the incidental comparison, one phase of the subject or a single quality is likened to some other.² Of these, the σύγκρισις τελειοτάτη is more properly a τόπος; the σύγκρισις μερική, although a device highly recommended by the rhetores for this part of an encomium, may also be used in any one of the τόποι.

8. ἐπίλογος. — As with the προοίμιον, the nature of this topic depends much upon the subject matter of the encomium. Often the author summarizes the deeds already discussed and urges others to imitate them. A fitting conclusion is a prayer that the gods may give an ample blessing to the person praised and to all other men.³

Great freedom is allowed in the use of these eight τόποι. The rhetores indicate that the social and political status of the person praised, the importance of his deeds, and the circumstances attending the occasion for the encomium will determine which of the subdivisions are to be treated more fully. If necessary, one or more of the τόποι may be omitted.⁴

So many writers⁵ previous to the fourth century of our era wrote panegyrics in prose, following the precepts of the rhetoricians, that often the fact that many encomia were written in verse escapes notice. For instance, among writers of Latin verse, there is Anser, who wrote the praises of Antony. Lucius Varus composed a panegyric of Augustus. Some maintain that Tibullus was the author of an extant panegyric of Messala. Several of the *Silvae* of Papinius Statius are of the same

1367 b, 21 ff.; Anon. ad Aphthon. (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 44, 5); Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 433, 10 ff.), Nicolaus Sophista (Spengel, iii, 481, 17); Plato, *Menex.* 237 A; Anaximenes (Spengel, i, 225, 24); Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 3, 7, 15; Aphthonius (Spengel, ii, 36, 5); Julianus, *Or.* i, 4c, R.

¹ Menander (Spengel, iii, 376, 31 ff.).

² Menander (Spengel, iii, 377, 5).

³ Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 434, 13); Aphthonius (Spengel, ii, 36, 18); Menander (Spengel, iii, 377, 28; 422, 3).

⁴ Menander (Spengel, iii, 370, 9): ἐὰν δὲ μήτε ἡ πατρίς μήτε τὸ ἔθνος τυγχάνῃ περιβλεπτον, ἀφήσεις μὲν τοῦτο.

⁵ See Burgess, pp. 130 ff.

genre. In the time of Constantius the poet Nazarius sang the praises of Eunomia. Naturally poets, when planning their poems, turned for suggestions both to the writers of panegyrics in prose and to the works of those rhetores who expounded the principles of the encomium. A consideration of Claudian's use of these precepts proves to be an interesting study.¹

Of Claudian's life we know little. He seems to have come originally from Alexandria.² In his earlier years he wrote in Greek, and became known as a writer of Latin verse only after coming to Rome. He attached himself to wealthy Romans, like the sons of Probus, whose kindness he acknowledges by the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus* (395 A.D.), which is his first published poem in Latin. Soon he won the favor of Stilicho, who brought him to the court. Through a letter from Serena, Stilicho's wife, Claudian was successful in his suit of a wealthy lady. After the composition of the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti* (404 A.D.) he disappears, and we cannot determine whether he retired to Alexandria at that time, or died suddenly, or survived until the fall of Stilicho in 408 A.D.

Of his major poems the greater part are panegyrics and invectives, written with talent but with remarkable servility towards his benefactors. In addition to the two laudations mentioned above, this study will deal with the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli*, *Laus Serenae*, and *Laus Herculis*.³

A. Προοίμιον.

Aristotle defines the prooemium as ὁδοποιήσις τῷ ἐπιόντι.⁴ Anaximenes teaches that the orator ought so to introduce his subject as to

¹ Cf. Lohrlich, H.: *De Papinii Statii Silvarum Poetae Studiis Rhetoricis*, Halis Saxonum, 1905.

² Cf. *Carm. Min.* 19 and 22.

³ I have given the three books of the *De Consulatu Stilichonis* careful consideration, but inasmuch as this poem illustrates no principle of the rhetores which is not fully illustrated in the poems just named and, furthermore, does not present any striking exceptions to the formula on which the other encomia are based, I shall not attempt to treat it in its entirety in this article.

⁴ *De Arte Rhetorica*, 1414 b, 21.

captivate the minds of his audience and make them eager for it.¹ From the treatise of Longinus² it is clear that the material of the prooemium ought to be drawn from the subject matter of the panegyric.

The prooemia with which Claudian commences his several panegyrics on consulships are *ὁδοποιήσεις* in the full sense of the word; they all introduce the subject in hand precisely. To offer a single example, the poet begins the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus* with the following invocation (vv. 1-7):

Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habenis
Volvis inexhausto redeuntia saecula motu,
Sparge diem meliore coma crinemque repexi
Blandius elato surgant temone iugales
Efflantes roseum frenis spumantibus ignem.
Iam nova germanis vestigia torqueat annus
Consulibus, laetique petant exordia menses.

These verses are a fitting introduction to the poem. They announce the subject and lead up skilfully to the encomium proper. Note how neatly the poet turns to the next *τόπος*, the *γένος*:

Scis genus Auchenium, nec te latuere potentes
Amniadae; nam saepe soles ductoribus illis
Instaurare vias et cursibus addere nomen.

But by no means does he observe in this prooemium the principle upon which Longinus puts emphasis, namely, that the material of the prooemium ought to be drawn from the subject matter of the panegyric. In fact, he does no more than invoke the Sun and skilfully join this invocation to the subject in hand.

Better workmanship is seen in the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii*, written a year later. For here Claudian describes the rites and ceremonies for the inauguration of a consul, purposing thus to introduce the praise of the consul himself (vv. 1-12):

Tertia Romulei sumant exordia fasces
Terque tuas ducat bellatrix pompa curules;
Festior annus eat cinctusque imitata Gabinos
Dives Hydaspes augescat purpura gemmis;

¹ Spengel, i, 214, 9 ff.

² Spengel, i, 327, 21: ὅτι δὲ τὰ προοίμια ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὅλης σχέσεως τοῦ λόγου λαμβάνειν. See also Nicolaus Sophista (Spengel, iii, 479, 28).

Succedant armis trabeae, tentoria lictor
Ambiat et Latiae redeant ad signa secures,
Tuque o qui patrium curis aequalibus orbem
Eoo cum fratre regis, procede secundis
Alitibus Phoebique novos ordire meatus,
Spes votumque poli, quem primo a limine vitae
Nutrix aula foveat, strictis quem fulgida telis
Inter laurigeros aluerunt castra triumphos.

The poet uses similar material in almost the same way in the prooemium (vv. 1-17) of the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, where he begins:

Auspiciis iterum sese regalibus annus
Induit.

The use of the year and the consulship as material for the prooemium is found also in the following verses from the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii*, although it is not so apparent as in the instances already given.

Aurea Fortunae Reduci si templa priores
Ob reditum vovere ducum, non dignius umquam
Haec dea pro meritis amplas sibi posceret aedes
Quam sua cum pariter trabeis reparatur et urbi
Maiestas: neque enim campus sollemnis et urna
Luditur in morem, species nec dissona coetu
Aut peregrina nitet simulati iuris imago.
Indigenas habitus nativa palatia sumunt,
Et, patriis plebem castris sociante Quirino,
Mars Augusta sui renovat suffragia campi.
Qualis erit terris, quem mons Euandrius offert
Romanis avibus, quem Thybris inaugurat, annus?

Should anyone ask why the poet has dwelt less insistently on the year and the consulship in this prooemium, he will find the answer in the prooemium itself. For if one compares it with that of the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, he will see that besides treating these familiar topics, this introduction indicates that Honorius has done something noteworthy. Under the capable general Stilicho the Roman forces had halted the barbarian invaders at Pol-lentia and the senate had thereupon called upon Honorius, then twenty one years of age, to celebrate a triumph at Rome and to accept the

consulship for the sixth time. Although the entire success of the campaign had been due to Stilicho, the poet was able, because the contest had taken place while Honorius was emperor, to draw the material for his prooemium from it. He had written the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu* during the first year of Honorius' rule, when the emperor was only twelve years old. Honorius was only fourteen when the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu* appeared. At that time he naturally had done nothing which Claudian could praise, nothing from which he could draw the material for a prooemium. Hence in these two poems it pleased the poet to write chiefly about the year and the consulship, but in the prooemium to the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu* he deals with deeds actually accomplished under Honorius' rule, deeds upon which he enlarged in the poem itself.

The question which he asks about the year at the end of the prooemium serves merely to connect this introduction with the rest of the poem. We should, however, note the smooth transition which the poet makes when he uses as a connecting link the same material which formed the basis of his earlier prooemia. He asks (vv. 11-12):

Qualis erit terris, quem mons Euandrius offert
Romanis avibus, quem Thybris inaugurat, annus?

and continues (vv. 13-17):

Quamquam omnes, quicumque tui cognominis, anni
Semper inoffensum dederint successibus omen
Sintque tropaea tuas semper comitata secures,
Hic tamen ante omnes miro promittitur ortu,
Urbis et Augusti geminato numine felix.

In the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli* and in the *Laus Serenae*, as in the *De Sexto Consulatu Honorii*, Claudian had more important material for the prooemium than that which he used in his earlier poems.¹ The introductory verses of the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli* describe the goddess Virtue, who needs not the plaudits of men, but dwells in proud seclusion apart from the confusion of the world's daily strife. Nevertheless Honor seeks her out.

¹ I omit the discussion of this statement in so far as the *Laus Serenae* is concerned. The reader will admit the truth of it if he compares the subject matter of the prooemium (vv. 1-33) with that of the rest of the poem.

So, frequently, throughout the history of Rome, worthy men have been called to office from the quiet of their country estates. Following these general statements comes a direct and personal application of them. Manlius, after having filled various offices most creditably, had withdrawn to the country to devote himself to his hobby, scientific research. He is now summoned from his retirement to receive the highest honor which the state can confer, the consulship.

The material for this prooemium is distinctly drawn from the laudation proper. There the poet praises Manlius for his several virtues, for the public offices which he has held, the deeds of war which he has performed, and the upright and equitable judgments which he has pronounced, and his scientific interest in natural phenomena. We may note further how fully this prooemium meets Anaximenes' requirement, in that it so well attracts the reader's mind to the main subject, the laudation of that Manlius Theodorus, *qui culmen virtutis honorisque tenet*.¹

From the preceding it is clear that Claudian follows the prescriptions of the rhetores concerning the general construction of prooemia. Let us examine next his use of certain other special precepts.

Doxopater writes:² νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐγκωμιάζουσι μείζονα τοῦ οἰκείου λόγου αἰεὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν παρακειμένην ὑπόθεσιν. καὶ τοῦτο εὖροις μὲν καὶ τὸν Μέγανδρον³ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ διδάσκοντα καὶ τοὺς ἐγκωμιάζοντας ἐν ᾗπασι σχεδὸν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις τούτῳ χρωμένους.

But Claudian evinces such modesty only in two poems. In the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus* he says (vv. 55-60) that he could not tell of Probus' deeds, even if he should speak with a hundred mouths, nor could he, were a hundred Phoebuses to inspire him.⁴

¹ Cf. p. 54.

² Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, ii, 449, 33.

³ Menander (Spengel, iii, 368, 10): ὅτι καθήκας αὐτὸν εἰς ἀγῶνα οὐ ῥᾶδιον κατορθωθῆναι λόγῳ. And Spengel, iii, 369, 7: ὅταν αὐξήσεως ἕνεκα παραλαμβάνηται, λήψει δευτέρων προσιμίων ἐννοίας ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀμήρου τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας, ὅτι ταύτης μόνης ἐδέετο ἢ ὑπόθεσις, ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Καλλιόπης ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν, ὅτι μόλις ἂν καὶ αὐταὶ πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ὑποθέσεως εἰπεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν, ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρῆσαι πρὸς δύναμιν.

⁴ To be sure, these lines do not occur in the prooemium of the panegyric itself, but in a second prooemium by which Claudian introduces the deeds of Probus the

With equal modesty Claudian writes in the prooemium of the *De Consulatu Stilichonis* (I, 10-16): "Indeed, I could more readily heap Pelion upon Ossa than hope to tell of so many deeds in one poem. For if I wished to omit some of them, whatever I left out would be the more important. Shall I sing of the accomplishments of his youth? His latest acts compel my attention. Shall I laud his justice? His glory in arms shines more brightly."¹

In the introductory verses of the *Laus Serenae* the poet seems at first to imply that he has hardly sufficient ability to handle his subject, for he rebukes his Calliope for having so long delayed to crown Serena with Pierian garlands, and asks his Muse if she thinks her offering too insignificant a gift for one queen to make to another.

But with characteristic confidence² he continues the exhortation with the following description of the garlands:

Sed floribus illis,
Quos neque frigoribus Boreas nec Sirius urit
Aestibus, aeterno sed veris honore rubentes
Fons Aganippea Permessius educat unda:
Unde piaepascuntur apes et prata legentes
Transmittunt saeculis Heliconia mella futuris.

Nowhere in the prooemia to his other panegyrics does Claudian confess that he is unable to treat the subject fittingly, nor, even for the sake of rhetorical ornamentation, feign that such is the case. He does, however, apply another precept of the rhetoricians frequently. Menander writes:³ οἶον ὡς ἂν εἰ λέγοιμεν ὥσπερ δὲ πελάγους ἀπείρου τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μέτρον οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν οὕτω καὶ βασιλέως εὐφημίαν λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον. That our poet seldom fails to indicate the magnitude and importance of his subject, anyone who reads the pro-

father of the consuls. They are entirely relevant to this discussion, however, for Claudian has drawn the material for the πράξεις of this poem from Probus' deeds Cf. pp. 80 ff.

¹ Cf. also vv. 138 ff.:

Singula complecti cuperem; sed densior instat
Gestorum series laudumque sequentibus undis
Obruimur.

² Cf. J. H. E. Crees: *Claudian as an Historical Authority*, Cambridge, 1908, p. 4.

³ Spengel, iii, 368, 24. Cf. also, note 3, p. 57.

oemia already quoted above will admit.¹ Sometimes, even, he tells what the gods themselves did on an occasion so important as the one he is describing. So, for example, in the introduction to the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii* (11-17) he says that to honor this consul Bellona herself has removed her shield and helmet and put on the trabea, and even Mars is not ashamed to carry laurel-bound axes and change his shining cuirass for a Latian toga.

In the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli* the poet shows the importance of his subject by invoking Virtus and Honor. He indicates the weightiness of the subject of the *Laus Serenae* by using an elaborate σύγκρισις in the prooemium of the poem.² For he asks (vv. 11-33) if any poet ever had a better example of the faithful spouse to sing of, and, comparing Serena with Penelope, Tanaquil, Cloelia and Claudia, says that no one of these has a better claim to that title.

In the *Laus Herculis*, an encomium which editors generally place with the poems which are spurious or, at least, suspected, the poet, whoever he may have been, invokes Phoebus in the first lines of the prooemium just as Claudian invokes Sol in the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus*. Then follow these verses (6-15):

Tuam non nunc novus advena turbam
Ingredior, laurusque gerens et florea sertis
Tempora vincta tuis, doctorum munera vatum,
Testor adhuc veteres quamvis desuetus honores.
Alcides mihi carmen erit, Romana Tonantis
Progenies, dignus credi post viscera numen
Cui super immensos invicti roboris aestus
Nec nasci potuisse vacat: nam lucis in ipsis,
Inclite, primitiis tardo vix editus ortu
Fecisti de patre fidem.

In these lines the poet, with a confidence like that which Claudian displays, affirms his ability to handle the subject. Such confidence, of

¹ See p. 54 for the prooemium of the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Coss.*, p. 54 for that of the *De Tertio Consulatu Honorii*, and p. 55 for *De Sexto Consulatu*.

² σύγκρισις as a rhetorical device will be discussed more in detail later. It is sufficient here to call attention to the fact that our poet does not let pass a good opportunity to use a comparison, a fact which is in keeping with a dictum of Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 13, 3): μέγιστη δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἀφορμὴ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν συγκρίσεων, ἣν τάξεις ὡς ἀνὸς καίρους ὑφηγῆται.

course, the rhetores did not advise. But the lines just quoted also indicate the magnitude and importance of the subject in hand exactly as Menander prescribed. The material of this prooemium, however, cannot be said to be drawn from the subject matter of the panegyric, for though it is true that the poet speaks of Hercules in the prooemium, he does not there mention those deeds of Hercules about which he sings in the encomium itself.

The author of the *Laus Herculis* has employed some of the precepts laid down by the rhetores and neglected others. But those same ones which he has neglected, Claudian too has not used, a fact which would indicate either that Claudian was really the author of the poem or that the unknown author wrote in a manner remarkably like that of our poet.

B. Γένος.

After the prooemium Aphthonius places the γένος, which is to be divided into ἔθνος, πατρίς, πρόγονοι and πατέρες.¹ Similar divisions are suggested by Theo,² Menander,³ and Quintilian.⁴ We should note, too, what Nicolaus Sophista prescribes:⁵ διαιρεῖται οὖν μετὰ τὰ προοίμια πρώτῳ κεφαλαίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους, ὅπερ λαμβάνεται ἀπὸ ἔθνους, ἀπὸ πόλεως, ἀπὸ προγόνων. ταῦτα δὲ ἢ πάντα ἐμπίπτει, ἢ τοῖς ἐμπίπτουσι χρησόμεθα, οἷον ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἢ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπίδοξος, τότε μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγῳ ἢ τῷ τοῦ ἔθνους διατρίψομεν.

Turning now to Claudian, it is interesting to note, in the first place, how often he deals with the γένος at the beginning of his encomia. For with the exception of the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli* and the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii*, poems which will be treated more fully later, in all of Claudian's panegyrics this τόπος follows directly after the προοίμιον.

For example, in the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti* the poet treats of the γένος in verses 18-121. He begins straightway with a discussion of the ἔθνος:

Haud indigna coli nec nuper cognita Marti
Ulpia progenies et quae diademata mundo
Sparsit Hibera domus.

¹ Cf. also Aristotle, *De Arte Rhetorica*, 1360 b, 31 ff.

³ Spengel, iii, 369, 18 ff.

⁴ *Inst. Orat.* 3, 7, 10.

² Spengel, ii, 110, 2 ff.

⁵ Spengel, iii, 479, 30 ff.

Immediately after these verses he introduces a long discussion of Honorius' ancestors,¹ omitting completely the laudation of Constantinople, the natal city of Honorius, which we might well expect to find. But he is following the rules of the rhetoricians here, for Nicolaus Sophista enjoins just such a proceeding under certain circumstances:² ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἢ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπίδοξος, τότε μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγῳ ἢ τῷ τοῦ ἔθνους διατρίψομεν· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἔχωμεν γενναῖον εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς πόλεως, τότε ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθνος καταφευξόμεθα. εἰ δ' ἄρα περὶ μηδετέρου λέγειν τι δυνώμεθα σπουδαῖον, τότε εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀρξόμεθα, ὅσα δὲ ἐνδέχεται καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων, λέγω δὴ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως εἰπόντες πρότερον. What are the facts? Claudian, the court poet of the Western Empire, rarely lavished praises on Constantinople, as Crees has pointed out.³ For example, he failed to mention the Eastern Empire in the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus* (vv. 113 ff.), although these men were nominated by Theodosius, emperor of the East, directly after the great battle of the Frigidus in which he with his Eastern armies rescued the Western Empire from the barbarian Argobastes and his puppet, Eugenius.

The reason for this silence is not far to seek. At the time when the poet wrote the panegyric which we are now considering, there was distinct discord between the East and West. After the death of Theodosius early in the year 395, the unscrupulous Rufinus had exercised strong control over Arcadius, brother of Honorius and emperor of the East. This control the great general Stilicho, whom Theodosius had appointed guardian of his two sons and the two parts of his empire, tried to nullify. It was by the troops of this general, then himself in the western part of the Empire, that Rufinus was finally killed (395 A.D.). But Arcadius feared the stern Stilicho; "and the same troops, who had so lately massacred the enemy of Stilicho, were engaged to support, against him, the independence of the throne of Constantinople. The favorites of Arcadius fomented a secret war against a formidable hero, who aspired to govern and to defend the two empires of Rome and the two sons of Theodosius. . . . The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired assassins; and a decree was obtained from the Senate of Constantinople to de-

¹ See p. 65.

² Spengel, iii, 480, 2 ff.

³ J. H. E. Crees: *op. cit.*, 1908, p. 98.

clare him an enemy of the republic and to confiscate his ample possessions in the provinces of the East. At a time when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman name depended on the firm union and reciprocal aid of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated, the subjects of Arcadius and Honorius were instructed by their respective masters to view each other in a foreign and even a hostile light."¹ Need anyone wonder that Claudian, with the insight of a court poet, followed Nicolaus Sophista's injunction?

Our poet has not, however, entirely omitted mentioning the πόλις and the πατρίς in this panegyric, but has treated them in that τόπος which follows immediately after the γένος, the γένεσις. Here he is trying to show under what remarkable auspices Honorius was born, and writes in part (vv. 127-138);

Hispania patrem
Auriferis eduxit equis, te gaudet alumno
Bosphorus. Hesperio de limine surgit origo
Sed nutrix Aurora tibi; pro pignore tanto
Certatur, geminus civem te vindicat axis.

Concerning the ancestors (πρόγονοι) of Honorius down to his grandfather, Claudian writes the following verses (20-23) directly after the lines on ἔθνος:

Nec tantam vilior unda
Promeruit gentis seriem: cunabula fovit
Oceanus; terrae dominos pelagique futuros
Immenso decuit rerum de principe nasci.

Anaximenes, writing about the method to be employed in discussing the ancestors, says:² γενεαλογεῖν δὲ ὧδε δεῖ· ἐὰν μὲν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι σπουδαῖοι, πάντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβόντες μεχρὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγκωμιαζόμενον ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν προγόνων κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐνδοξόν τι περιτιθέναι. ἐὰν δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν ὦσι σπουδαῖοι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς συμβεβήκη μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον πρᾶξαι, τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διελθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους παραλιπεῖν, προφασισάμενον ὅτι διὰ πλῆθος τῶν προγόνων οὐ θέλεις λέγων αὐτοὺς μακρολογεῖν, ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἄδηλον εἶναι πᾶσιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν

¹ Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. Bury, N. Y., 1914), iii, 243. Also see Claudian: *De Consulatu Stilichonis* i, 275, 292, 296; ii, 83; and Zosimus 5, 302.

² Spengel, i, 226, 1 ff.

γενομένους εἰκός ἐστι τοῖς προγόνους ὁμοιοῦσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ πρόγονοι φαῦλοι τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνδοξοὶ, τούτοις δεῖ γενεαλογεῖν, καὶ λέγειν ὅτι περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων περιέρχον ἂν εἴη μακρολογεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πλησίον γεγονότας τῶν ἐπαινουμένων, τούτους ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπιδείξειν.

Possibly our poet was unable to learn definitely about Honorius' early ancestors. In that event, he could only give us such a blanket description of them as we find in the verses quoted above. On the other hand, if he knew them to have been men of little worth, he has surely followed the precepts of Anaximenes in omitting a detailed chronological laudation of them. Perhaps it is hardly necessary here to call attention to the fact that Claudian, with true poetic feeling, has heightened the effect of this passage by not trying to give a reason for the omission of a discussion of Honorius' forbears, even though Anaximenes expressly enjoins such a procedure.

The latter part¹ of Anaximenes' advice Claudian has followed diligently in narrating the deeds of the emperor's grandfather and father (πατέρες). He sings of the former's victories in Britain and in Africa, and of his ability to endure severe cold and raging heat.² Then the poet turns to the deeds of Theodosius Augustus, father of Honorius, who far surpasses the grandfather.³ For, by thoroughly defeating the barbarians who were trying to enter the eastern provinces from every side, he saved those provinces from the ravages of plundering hordes.

The East, then, came to Theodosius as an heritage, so to speak, which he had preserved from destruction. Not so the West, says the poet, who proceeds to tell that usurpers had already taken possession there. But Theodosius conquered both Maximus the tyrant (388 A.D.) and Argobastes' tool, Eugenius (394 A.D.), and thus twice won back the Western Empire.

Claudian concludes the discussion of Honorius' ancestors by singing of Theodosius' kindness and clemency toward the peoples he conquered (vv. 111-117):

Nec tamen oblitus civem cedentibus atrox
Partibus infremuit; non insultare iacenti
Malebat; mitis precibus, pietatis abundans,

¹ ἐὰν δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ πρόγονοι φαῦλοι τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, etc.

² Vv. 24-40.

³ Vv. 41-121.

Poenae parcus erat; paci non intulit iram;
 Post acies odiis idem qui terminus armis.
 Profuit hoc vincente capi, multosque subactos
 Aspera laturae commendavere catenae.

In the *γένος* which we have just been studying, Claudian has followed a suggestion which Aristides makes.¹ This rhetorician gives as one of the *procédés* for writing an encomium, the use of *παράλειψις*, the omission of facts which damage the good name of the person who is being praised. Our poet sang of the clemency and kindness of Theodosius but was careful not to mention the slaughter of the Thesalonicans, which took place by the order of that emperor in 390 A.D. The citizens of Thessalonica had killed Botheric, a Roman general. Theodosius, insane with rage, bade his soldiers put the people of the city to the sword.² Reports vary as to the number who perished at this time; some say seven thousand, others put the figure as high as fifteen thousand. No one will doubt, I believe, that Claudian omitted purposely this instance of barbaric cruelty, and, in so doing, is in accord with Aristides' injunction.³

It has already been noted that Claudian has little to say about Honorius' early ancestors but treats fully his father and grandfather.⁴ We suggested that possibly the poet knew little or could say little that was good of the early ancestors. Nicolaus Sophista gives other advice which Claudian may have been following. He says that one must always hasten to that which is individual and belongs expressly to the subject in hand, for of a distant ancestor there are many descendants, and the same good traits of the ancestor may be seen in several of the descendants, whereas only the sons can inherit from a great father his noble characteristics.⁵

In the *γένος* (vv. 26-64) of the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti* (404 A.D.), Claudian no longer uses for the *πόλις* that *Hibera domus* which he mentioned in the *Panegyricus de Quarto Con-*

¹ Spengel, ii, 505, 10 ff.

² Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. Bury, N. Y., 1914), iii, 181.

³ Other examples of *παράλειψις* are discussed on pp. 68 ff. and 81 ff.

⁴ Cf. pp. 62 ff.

⁵ Spengel, iii, 480, 16 ff.

sulatu, but turns to Rome herself. There is a good reason why the poet chooses Rome now as the *πατρίς*. Until this time Honorius had made Milan his home. He has now come to Rome at the invitation of the senate to celebrate his triumph and to enter on his sixth consulship.

Aphthonius divided the *γένος* into four divisions, *ἔθνος*, *πατρίς*, *πρόγονοι*, and *πατέρες*. Of these Claudian omitted completely the *ἔθνος* and the *πρόγονοι* when he wrote the *Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship*, probably because his artistic sense made him hesitate to treat again subjects with which he had already dealt in the poem on the Fourth Consulship.¹ But in the present encomium he writes these lines about Honorius' father (vv. 55-64):

Nil optimus ille (pater)
Divorum toto meruit felicius aevo,
Quam quod Romuleis victor sub moenibus egit
Te consorte dies, cum se melioribus addens
Exemplis civem gereret terrore remoto,
Alternos cum plebe iocos dilectaque passus
Iurgia patriciasque domos privataque passim
Visere deposito dignatus limina fastu.
Publicus hinc ardescit amor, cum moribus aequis
Inclinat populo regale modestia culmen.

It is to be noted that the poet is not celebrating here the many wars which Theodosius waged, but is singing of the civic virtues which the triumphant emperor displayed. Claudian's true artistic feeling kept him from repeating the laudation of Theodosius' military deeds, just as it taught him to omit in this poem a discussion of the *ἔθνος* and the *πρόγονοι*.²

In the *Laus Serenae*, likewise, Claudian begins with the *ἔθνος* (vv. 34 ff.), saying that Serena is of royal blood than which none can be better. Then he speaks of her *πρόγονοι*:

Patruo te principe celsam
Bellipotens inlustrat avus, qui signa Britanno
Intulit Oceano Gaetulaque reppulit arma.

But about Serena's father, who had done nothing worthy of mention, the poet is silent, just as Anaximenes bids one to be under the

¹ See p. 61 ff., and especially p. 63.

² See p. 62.

circumstances.¹ The discussion of her native country comes at once with twenty-one verses in which Claudian praises Spain, that land "which has been fertile in good princes."

If we turn to verses 8-20 of the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus*, we find that the γένος comes in its normal place in the panegyric and that the poet has failed to mention the father of the consuls. He has a purpose in this omission. He wished to use the laudation of their father and mother as the foundation of that τόπος called παράξεις, as I shall show later.²

In the spurious *Laus Herculis*, too, we find a γένος, though it is in concentrated form and has been incorporated in the prooemium. The poet calls Hercules "the Roman offspring of the Thunderer."³

Quintilian in his *Institutiones Oratoriae* makes the following comment:

Erat enim rhetorice res prorsus facilis ac parva, si uno et brevi praescriptio contineretur; sed mutantur pleraque causis, temporibus, occasione, necessitate.⁴

The omission of the γένος from the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii* may be due to the fact that throughout the poem Theodosius figures prominently. He directs Honorius' education, he guards him on the journey to Italy, and he arranges for the festivities attendant on his receiving the consulship. To have written a special τόπος about him would have been to use in advance the material necessary for the body of the panegyric. The few words (vv. 52-59) our poet has to say about Honorius' grandfather, he inserts in the ἀνατροφή:⁵

Quoque magis nimium pugnae inflammaret amorem,
Facta tui numerabat avi, quem litus adustae
Horrescit Libyae ratibusque impervia Thyle:
Ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit Scottumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas
Et geminis fulgens utroque sub axe tropaeis
Tethyos alternae refluas calcavit harenas.

¹ Cf. p. 62.

² Cf. p. 81 ff.

³ Cf. p. 59.

⁴ *Inst. Orat.* 2, 13, 2.

⁵ See p. 70.

What necessity impelled Claudian to omit the γένος from the *Panegyricus Dichtus Manlio Theodoro Consuli*, I have not been able to determine. Perhaps Manlius' ancestors did not deserve mention in a laudatory poem; or it may be that Claudian had been unable to learn much about the family. This second suggestion seems the more plausible in view of the fact that our poet fails also to discuss Manlius' education and youth.¹

C. Γένεσις.

Quintilian, in introducing the study of this portion of a panegyric, says that an author, after he has dealt with the epochs anterior to the one in which his subject lived, should take up the period in which his life fell.² Writers of encomia come for the first time actually to the person in question when they reach the γένεσις. Quintilian goes on to say: ³ Illa . . . ex eo, quod ante eum fuit, tempore trahentur, quae responsis vel auguriis futuram claritatem promiserint. . . . Of the statements made by the Greek rhetoricians, perhaps that by Menander⁴ is the most enlightening: οὐκοῦν ἔστω σοι μετὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μετὰ τὸ γένος τρίτον κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως, ὥς ἔφαμεν, εἴ τι σύμβολον γέγονε περὶ τὸν τόκον ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀντεξέτασον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον καὶ Κῦρον καὶ τοιοῦτοις τισὶ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν. καὶ γὰρ κάκεινοις συνέβη τινὰ θαυμάσια, τῷ μὲν Κῦρῳ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὀνείρατα, τῷ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν λύκαιναν.

In accordance with the teachings of the various rhetores, Claudian, in four panegyrics, has written directly after the γένος about the birth of the person he is praising, and has told many prodigious things (ἄξια θαύματος). So in the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii* he tells us that barbarian Germany trembled along the whole course of the Rhine, when Honorius was born, and the forests of the Caucasus shook from fear. Or again, in the *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of Honorius*, the poet, after mentioning the fact that the child was born in the purple, asks (vv. 141 ff.):

¹ Cf. table on p. 86.

² *Inst. Orat.* 3, 7, 10.

³ *Ibid.*, 3, 7, 11.

⁴ Spengel, iii, 371, 3 ff. Cf. also the discussion by Nicolaus Sophista (Spengel, iii, 480, 30 ff.) and Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 12, 7 ff.).

Quae tunc documenta futuri ?
 Quae voces avium ? quanti per inane volatus ?
 Qui vatum discursus erat ? Tibi corniger Hammon
 Et dudum taciti rupere silentia Delphi,
 Te Persae cecinere magi, te sensit Etruscus
 Augur et inspectis Babylonius horruit astris,
 Chaldaei stupuere senes Cumanaque rursus
 Intonuit rupes, rabidae delubra Sibyllae.

The following lines from the *Laus Serena* are interesting because they are so filled with τὰ ἄξια θαύματος (vv. 70-85):

Te nascente ferunt per pinguia culta tumentem
 Divitiis undasse Tagum; Callaecia risit
 Floribus et roseis formosus Turia ripis
 Vellere purpureo passim mutavit ovile.
 Cantaber Oceanus vicino litore gemmas
 Expuit; effosis nec pallidus Astur oberrat
 Montibus: oblatum sacris natalibus aurum
 Vulgo vena vomit, Pyrenaeisque sub antris
 Ignea flumineae legere ceraunia Nymphae;
 Quaeque relabentes undas aestumque secutae
 In refluos venere palam Nereides amnes
 Confessae plausu dominam cecinere futuris
 Auspicium thalamis. Alio tum parvus in axe
 Crescebat Stilicho votique ignarus agebat,
 Debita cui longe coniunx, penitusque remoto
 Orbe parabatur tanti concordia fati.¹

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that Claudian was mindful of the precepts of the rhetoricians concerning the *genesis*. It will be worth while here to note how he uses a special device which they recommend: the distortion of the truth. Anaximenes² tells us that this is a favorite device among authors; Aristides³ urges that writers of

¹ The spurious *Laus Herculis* has a forceful γένεσις (vv. 21-29):

Iam grave plus etiam, quam ventris tempora vellent,
 Alcmenam tendebat onus. Sed regia Iuno
 Impedit et partus prohibet nascique vetabat,
 Ut metus ipse deum monstret; nec vivida caeli
 Semina mortales norunt sentire latebras
 Nec possunt sufferre moras. Datur inde novercae
 Materies; gravibusque odiis augmenta ministrat,
 Quod vinci coepisse pudet. Mox improba binos
 In tua membra iubet, dum nasceris, ire dracones.

² Spengel, i, 214, 10-220, 7.

³ Spengel, ii, 505, 10 sqq.

panegyrics should use *εὐφημία* and *παράλειψις*. If they do, they certainly will not be telling the whole truth, for he says that *εὐφημία*, while not the omission of disagreeable things, is nevertheless the presentation of them in the most favorable light; *παράλειψις*, on the other hand, is the complete omission of things prejudicial to the person praised and the emphatic presentation of his meritorious deeds.¹ Our poet makes use of both devices in the *genesis* of the *Laus Serenae* where he writes (vv. 82-85):

Alio tum parvus in axe
Crescebat Stilicho votique ignarus agebat,
Debita cui longe coniunx, penitusque remoto
Orbe parabatur tanti concordia fati.

These verses are written to describe one of the marvellous events contemporaneous with Serena's birth, yet in the very verses where the poet could have extolled Serena in the highest of terms by telling of Stilicho's illustrious forbears, had he had any, Claudian maintains a discreet silence concerning the future husband's ancestors. Nor is this strange, for Orosius in discussing Stilicho's family writes:² Vandalorum, imbellis, avarae, perfidae, et dolosae gentis, genere editus, — a statement which Claudian hardly denied when, in his own poem on Stilicho, he inserted these verses:³

Ne facta revolvam
Militiamque patris, cuius producere famam,
Si nihil egisset clarum nec fida Valenti
Dextera duxisset rutilantes crinibus alas,
Sufficeret natus Stilicho.

Dionysius⁴ states that the panegyrist should consider whether the person to be discussed is of Greek or barbarian origin, while Aphthonius speaking of Philip of Macedon makes stinging comments on the fact that his family came from the worst of the barbarians.⁵ It is more than likely, then, that Claudian was unwilling to treat Stilicho's ancestors more at length because they were of barbarian origin.

¹ It has already been shown that Claudian used *παράλειψις* in the *Paneg. de IV Cons. Hon.* Cf. p. 61 ff.

² Oros, 7, 38.

³ *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, i, 36-40.

⁴ *De Arte Rhetorica*, 3, 3.

⁵ *Ψόγος Φιλίππου*, Spengel, ii, 40, 26, and 41, 15.

Another case of tampering with the exact truth is to be seen in the *genesis* of the *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship* (vv. 154-156) where Claudian states that Honorius was made consul in the same year in which he was born. As a matter of fact Honorius was born in the year 384, but did not hold the consulship for the first time until 386. The rhetores, however, would not scruple to distort the truth thus much, if by so doing a more striking coincidence could be presented. Menander, writing of the *γένεσις*, says:¹ *κἂν μὲν ἦ τι τοιοῦτον περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξέργασαι, ἐὰν δὲ οἶόν τε ἦ πλάσαι καὶ ποιεῖν τοῦτο πιθανῶς, μὴ κατόκνει· δίδωσι γὰρ ἢ ὑπόθεσις διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀνάγκην ἔχειν ἀβασανίστως δέχεσθαι τὰ ἐγκώμια.*

D. Ἀνατροφή.

The rhetores agree in advising the panegyrist to put the *τόπος* which is called *ἀνατροφή*, directly after the *γένεσις*,² advice which Claudian follows. So in the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu*, *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu*, *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu*, in the *Laus Serenae* and the *Laus Herculis*, we find the *ἀνατροφή* in its appointed place.

Likewise our poet has observed their instructions concerning the method of writing this section of the encomium, for he treats in it those things which belong to the youth of the person whom he is lauding.³ For example, in the *Panegyric on the Third Consulship* we read (vv. 22-32):

Reptasti per scuta puer, regumque recentes
Exuviae tibi ludus erant, primusque solebas
Aspera complecti torvum post proelia patrem,
Signa triumphato quotiens flexisset ab Histro
Arctoa de strage calens, et poscere partem
De spoliis, Scythicos arcus aut rapta Gelonis
Cingula vel iaculum Daci vel frena Suebi.
Ille coruscanti clipeo te saepe volentem
Sustulit adridens et pectore pressit anhelō
Intrepidum ferri galeae nec triste timentem
Fulgur et ad summas tendentem brachia cristas.

¹ Spengel, iii, 371, 10.

² Cf. Menander (Spengel, iii, 371, 17); Nicolaus Sophista (Spengel, iii, 481, 6); Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 12, 10); Aphthonius (Spengel, ii, 36, 11).

³ Cf. p. 51.

In like manner in the verses quoted above ¹ (VI Cons. Hon. 55-64) in which he extols Honorius' father, Claudian narrates various happenings from the youth of the emperor. In the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu* he tells of all the remarkable astronomical phenomena which were observed during the emperor's boyhood.²

Menander says that an encomiast will tell in the *ἀνατροφή* whether or not the child was brought up from the first in royal surroundings (*εἰ ἀλουργίδες τὰ σπάργανα*), and if not, he will describe by what good fortune he was brought to regal rank while still a youth.³ A good example of this in our poet is the following passage from the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu* (vv. 165-170):

Saepe tuas etiam iam tum gaudente marito
Velavit regina comas festinaque voti
Praesumptum diadema dedit, tum lenibus ulnis
Sustulit et magno porrexit ad oscula patri.
Nec dilatus honos: mutatur principe Caesar;
Protinus aequaris fratri.

Under the *ἀνατροφή*, the rhetoricians would have the panegyricist discuss education. In Doxopater we read:⁴ ἡ δὲ ἀνατροφή τὴν παιδευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ παιδων εἰς ἄνδρας δηλοῖ πρόοδον.

There are many passages in which Claudian tells how Theodosius trained his son. In the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii* he describes first the physical training which Honorius received (vv. 39-50) and then shows how his interest in martial exploits was stimulated (vv. 51-62):

Quoque magis nimium pugnae inflammaret amorem,
Facta tui numerabat avi . . .

Hos tibi virtutum stimulos, haec semina laudum,
Haec exempla dabat. Non ocius hausit Achilles
Semiferi praecepta senis, seu cuspidis artes
Sive lyrae cantus medicas seu disceret herbas.

There can be little doubt but that in these lines Claudian is harking back to the training he had had from the rhetores, for Menander,⁵ Nicolaus Sophista,⁶ and Hermogenes,⁷ in giving an example of how

¹ P. 65.

² Vv. 157 ff.

³ Spengel, iii, 371, 17 ff.

⁴ Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 429, 27 ff.; cf. also Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 12, 10).

⁵ Spengel, iii, 371, 24.

⁶ Spengel, iii, 481, 9.

⁷ Spengel, ii, 12, 11.

to deal with the education of one's subject, choose Achilles and the training he received from Chiron.

In the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii* (vv. 65-75) the poet shows how Theodosius by his own example taught Honorius to rule, to receive the Persian nobles, and to acquire gifts for the enriching of his subjects.

But it is in the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii* that he deals most fully with the young emperor's education. There he first represents Theodosius as giving him homely but useful advice on such subjects as manly worth (v. 220), frankness and sincerity (230), anger (241), greed (252). "Tunc omnia tenebis cum poteris rex esse tui." A ruler must be a constant example to his subjects; his manner of living influences them more than royal edicts can. Theodosius continues by advising his son to restrain overweening pride and by giving him instruction in the tactics of battle (vv. 303-352). He urges him, however, not to consider waging war until he becomes older and more capable (371), but rather to turn his mind to the lessons which Greek and Roman history will teach him. Let him study the careers of such men as Brutus, Mettius, Torquatus, Fabius and the Decii.

So far I have not considered one precept which the rhetores urge panegyricists to observe in writing the ἀνατροπή. They name this as the place where early indications of character, love of learning, natural ability, and special aptitudes should be dealt with.¹ But in none of the three encomia which Claudian wrote on Honorius does he give any early indications of genius or any special aptitudes, an omission at which there need be no surprise. For Honorius as an emperor was so inert and incapable that we might better have been surprised had Claudian found any ἐφύταν τῆς ψυχῆς of which to give early indications.² He does, however, in two poems tell of Honorius' early interest in arms, a subject which Menander prescribes.³ For example, in the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, we read (vv. 160-164):

tibi saepe Diana
Maenalios arcus venatricesque pharetras
Suspenderit, puerile decus; tu saepe Minervae

¹ Cf. Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 12, 12); Menander (Spengel, iii, 371, 25 ff.).

² Cf. Zosimus 5, p. 333; Procopius: *de Bello Gothico* 1, 2; Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. XXIX, end.

³ Spengel, iii, 371, 30.

Lusisti clipeo fulvamque impune pererrans
Aegida tractasti blandos interritus angues.¹

Turning to other poems, we find that in them, too, Claudian has followed the rules of the rhetoricians. He tells us, in the *Laus Serenae*, that no mortal nurse was good enough for Serena but that the wood-nymphs nursed her, and that whenever she gave herself up to sleep in the woods, the violets rose to make a regal couch for her.² Then to show Serena's *εὐφυΐα* he tells how by her infant complaints she foretold great events to come (vv. 97-103):

Quotiens ad limina princeps
Theodosius privatus adhuc fraterna veniret,
Oscula libabat teque ad sua tecta ferebat
Laetior; in matrem teneris conversa querellis:
' Quid me de propriis auferre penatibus ? ' inquis:
' Imperat hic semper ! ' Praesagia luserat error
Et dedit augurium regnis infantia linguae.³

E. 'Επιτηδεύματα.

In the introduction we saw that the rhetores would have encomiasts set forth under this heading those acts which imply choice and so reveal

¹ A similar passage from the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu* has already been quoted on p. 70.

² *Laus Serenae*, 86-94.

³ Likewise in the *Laus Herculis*, the poet, whether Claudian or another, narrates for us in the *ἀνατροφή* which is combined with the *γένεσις*, how the dragons lay with the infant Hercules in his cradle and how he strangled them. Then the poet takes up his nurture (vv. 65-74):

His coeptis non ulla parat cunabula partus,
Dive, tibi; sed cum totis iam bruma rigeret
Imbribus et solidis haerent flumina lymphis,
Nudum praegelidis durando firmat in undis.
Utque rudes primo temptasti robore gressus,
Frondosae deserta vagus penetralia silvae
Secura iam matre petis telisque tremendis
Ludis et aerias adducto deicis arcu
Aut funda violentus aves noctemque sub astris
Exigis et puram fractis bibis amnibus undam.

Throughout this entire *ἀνατροφή*, of course, the poet is trying to indicate Hercules' special ability (*τὴν φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς*) and to describe his preparation for those labors he will later perform.

character apart from πράξεις αγωνιστικάί.¹ And, by extension of the term, ἐπιτηδεύματα means one's profession. From Menander we learn that especial emphasis should be put on character.²

A good example of Claudian's treatment of this τόπος may be seen in the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii* (vv. 73-76), where he represents Honorius as burning with eagerness to wage war against the tyrant Eugenius:

Quae tibi tum Martis rabies quantusque sequendi
Ardor erat ? quanto flagrant pectora voto
Optatas audire tubas campique cruenta
Tempestate frui truncisque inmergere plantas ?

A similar case is to be found in the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, vv. 352-369.

The ἐπιτηδεύματα of the *Laus Serenae* is interesting for the emphasis which it puts on Serena's character (vv. 134-139):

Et quotiens, rerum moles ut publica cogit,
Tristior aut ira tumidus flagrante redibat,
Cum patrem nati fugerent atque ipsa timeret
Commotum Flaccilla virum, tu sola frementem
Frangere, tu blando poteras sermone mederi,
Adloquiis haerere tuis, secreta fateri.

In the next verses the poet lauds the morality of this chaste maid who condemns Helen and does not spare Dido, but keeps ever in mind ladies of nobler character, Evadne, Laodamia, and Lucretia.

Concerning the extension of the term ἐπιτηδεύματα to mean profession, we find these two statements in the rhetores: ἐπιτηδεύματα μὲν ἢ τοῦ βιοῦ αἵρεσις, οἷον ὅτι εἵλετο στρατεύεσθαι,³ and οἷον ποῖον ἐπιτήδευσεν βίον, φιλόσοφον ἢ ῥητορικὸν ἢ στρατιωτικόν; τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον αἱ πράξεις, οἷον στρατιωτικὸν βίον ἐλόμενος, τί ἐν τούτῳ κατέπραξε;

Naturally Honorius' profession was not a thing of his choosing. But our poet presents him in the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu* as deciding whether he prefers the Eastern or the Western Empire (vv. 82-87):

¹ Menander (Spengel, iii, 384, 20 ff.); see note 3, p. 51.

² Menander (Spengel iii, 372, 4): καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἥθους ἐμφασιν περιέχει.

³ Anon. ad Aphthonium (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 43, 23).

Et quotiens optare tibi quae moenia malles
Adludens genitor regni pro parte dedisset,
Divitis Aurorae solium sortemque paratam
Sponte remittebas fratri: 'regat ille volentes
Assyrios; habeat Pharium cum Tigride Nilum;
Contingat mea Roma mihi.'

F. Πράξεις.

A man's deeds and accomplishments are generally the best index of his ability and character. Hence, rightly enough, that portion of a panegyric which deals with them is styled by Doxopater τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἐγκωμίων κεφάλαιον.¹ In the introduction to this study we saw that the rhetores suggest that the encomiast should treat of the deeds of the person praised in two great divisions, — the deeds of war and those of peace.² Or again they were placed by Aphthonius³ under three headings — τὰς πράξεις κατὰ ψυχὴν, τὰς κατὰ σῶμα and τὰς κατὰ τύχην. Anaximenes⁴ calls those κατὰ ψυχὴν, τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, whereas those κατὰ σῶμα and κατὰ τύχην he calls τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἀρετῆς. He states that τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ should receive careful and detailed attention, whereas τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἀρετῆς may be more or less neglected, a principle with which Aristotle's statement is in accord, for he lays stress upon the fact that the encomiast must always have in mind the underlying purpose which prompted each act.⁵ Menander also (*loc. cit.*) states that a panegyricist should not narrate the various deeds chronologically, but should so arrange them as to illustrate the Socratic virtues — ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, and φρόνησις.⁶

First let us, in the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii*, observe the two great divisions. The deeds of war are described in verses 88–105. That these fall also under one of the headings in the triple division (τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν) is obvious as well, for we read (vv. 89 ff.):

¹ Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 432, 14). Cf. Hermogenes (Spengel, ii, 12, 18); and p. 50 above.

² *Ibid.*; cf. also Menander (Spengel, iii, 372, 25 ff.).

³ Aphthonius (Spengel, ii, 36, 5 ff.).

⁴ Spengel, i, 225, 24 ff.

⁵ *De Arte Rhet.* 1367 b, 21 ff.; Anon. ad Aphthonium (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 44, 5); Iulianus, *Or.* i, 4 c, R.; Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 433, 10 ff.).

⁶ Cf. also Aristotle, *De Arte Rhet.* 1416 b, 16 ff.; Theo (Spengel, ii, 112, 2 ff.).

Te propter et Alpes
 Invadi faciles cauto nec profuit hosti ¹
 Munitis haesisse locis:

 O nimium dilecte deo
 militat aether
 Et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti.
 Alpinae rubuere nives, et frigidus amnis
 Mutatis fumavit aquis turbaque cadentum
 Staret, ni rapidus iuvisset flumina sanguis.

Then come the deeds which are not martial, τὰ κατὰ εἰρήνην. Of these, Claudian takes first the ones which are part of Honorius' good fortune — τὰ κατὰ τύχην. He enumerates the countries through which Honorius journeyed in coming to Italy for the present ceremony, and tells how youths and matrons and old men vied with each other in honoring him as he was borne through the streets. The poet continues his account of Honorius' good fortune by describing how Theodosius, realizing that the end of his life was near, made his son-in-law, the great general Stilicho, guardian and protector of his two sons.

Having dealt with the πράξεις εἰρήνης κατὰ τύχην Claudian takes up those κατὰ ψυχὴν. He is addressing Theodosius, whom he pictures to us as journeying across the heavens (vv. 178-184):

Fortunate parens, primos cum detegis ortus,
 Adspicis Arcadium; cum te proclivior urges,
 Occiduum visus remoratur Honorius ignem,
 Et quocumque vagos flectas sub cardine cursus,
 Natorum per regna venis, qui mente serena
 Maturoque regunt iunctas moderamine gentes,
 Saecula qui rursus formant meliore metallo.

Although, in these verses, Claudian indicates that Honorius possesses φρόνησις and σωφροσύνη, he gives no definite examples. But the Emperor was only twelve years of age when he entered upon his third consulship, and had done nothing noteworthy by means of which our poet could demonstrate his courage, his justice, his prudence, or his moderation. The only thing Honorius had done was to make the journey into Italy which I have just described. All the other material which Claudian uses in writing the πράξεις of this panegyric has

¹ Eugenius.

been drawn either from natural phenomena or from the acts of Theodosius. Such a procedure is, however, quite in accord with the recommendations of the rhetores, for they say that in the case of young persons who have not yet done things worthy of mention, externals should furnish the material for the πράξεις.¹

Similarly, in the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, the poet has drawn his material from the wars which Stilicho waged. For at the time of that encomium Honorius was only fourteen years of age, and had not been able to carry on war. But because Honorius had ordered² Stilicho to make these campaigns, Claudian was able to draw from them τὰς πράξεις κατὰ πόλεμον, by saying that in the wars in Germany (vv. 428-459) and in Greece (vv. 460-483) Honorius, supported by Stilicho, had been able to equal and even to surpass Theodosius.³

In dealing with these campaigns, the poet should show us one of the cardinal virtues — fortitude (ἡ ἀνδρεία). For in Menander we read:⁴ εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐγκωμιάζεις, ἐπιστατέον ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐρεῖς μόνον, οὐκ ἀφ' ἐτέρων τινῶν. Possibly Claudian is making a feeble attempt to do this when he tells us that Honorius ordered⁵ and encouraged Stilicho to wage all of these wars.

The poet gives illustrations of the other cardinal virtues which fall under the heading, τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν, in that part of the poem where he treats τὰς πράξεις κατὰ εἰρήνην (vv. 488-618). He sings first of the Emperor's σωφροσύνη (vv. 488-502), telling of the justice of his civil appointments, the good report of the judges he chose, the fairness of his system of revenue, and his well-considered policy of expenditures. Then he takes up Honorius' δικαιοσύνη (vv. 503-512), showing that he maintained and strengthened the body of laws bequeathed him by his predecessors and that he gave careful consideration to minor law-

¹ Menander (Spengel, iii, 379, 5 ff.): εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔχῃς πράξεις εἰπεῖν τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἐρεῖς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιέργως ἢ πατριδᾷ ἢ ἔθνους ἐκφράσεις, . . . ζητήσεις δὲ καὶ τοῦ γένους πράξεις. εἰ δὲ εὐποροῖς πράξεων [τοῦ γένους] τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου, ἐκ τούτων θηράσεις τὸν ἐπαινον, ὥστε μὴ αὐχμηρὰν καὶ ἄγοι οὐκ παρασχέσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

² Cf. *iubes* (v. 440) and *hortaris* (v. 460).

³ Vv. 428-483. I include verses 471-473, which Julius Koch (Leipsic, 1893) puts after 483 on the authority of manuscript B. Verses 465-479 are quoted on p. 41.

⁴ Spengel, iii, 373, 1 ff.

⁵ Cf. *iubes* (v. 440) and *hortaris* (v. 460).

suits, corrected without delay errors of judgment, and, in equivocal litigation of long standing, promptly sought out an equitable finding.¹ To describe the Emperor's φρόνησις, our poet sings (vv. 513-517):

Quae pietas quantusque rigor tranquillaque magni
Vis animi nulloque levis terrore moveri
Nec nova mirari facilis! ² Quam docta facultas
Ingenii linguaeque modus! Responsa verentur
Legati, gravibusque latet sub moribus aetas.

After thus treating τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν, Claudian takes up τὰ κατὰ σῶμα, following Aphthonius' scheme.³ He speaks first (vv. 518-526) of Honorius' personal attractiveness (περὶ κάλλους); then (vv. 527-564) of his prowess in hurling the javelin, shooting with bow and arrow, wrestling, and chariot-racing (περὶ ῥώμης). Finally (vv. 565-618), he tells of those things which Fortune showered upon the Emperor (τὰ κατὰ τύχην), dwelling, in accordance with Aphthonius' suggestions, on his power, wealth, and friends.⁴

In the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii* we find our poet proceeding in much the same way as in the two earlier poems on a similar subject. In telling τὰς πράξεις κατὰ πόλεμον, (vv. 101-330) he omits the war in Africa against Gildo and the campaign in Italy against Alaric previous to the Battle of Pollentia, for he had already treated them fully in the poems *De Bello Gildonico* and *De Bello Gothico*. But beginning with verse 126 he tells how Stilicho would have defeated Alaric at Pollentia and Verona,

Ni calor incauti male festinatus Alani
Dispositum turbasset opus;⁵

¹ Here are Menander's instructions (Spengel, iii, 375, 24-376, 2): ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ νομοθεσίας, ὅτι νομοθετεῖ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀδίκους τῶν νόμων διαγράφει, δικαίους δὲ αὐτοὺς θεσπίζει· τοιγάρτοι νομικώτεροι μὲν οἱ νόμοι, δικαιοτέρα δὲ τὰ συμβόλαια τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐὰν δὲ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὴν νομοθεσίαν φρονήσεως εἶναι μόνης, γινωσκέτω ὅτι τὸ μὲν νομοθετῆσαι μόνης φρονήσεως, τὸ δὲ προστάττειν πράττειν τὰ δέοντα δικαιοσύνης, οἷον ὁ μὲν τύραννος, πολλάκις συνήσῃ διὰ φρόνησιν ἃ συμφέρει αὐτῷ νομοθετεῖν ἢ μὴ, νομοθετεῖ τὰ ἄδικα, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ δίκαια.

² Menander (Spengel, iii, 376, 15): ἐρεῖς τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῇ φρονήσει ὅτι σύμπαντα ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν ἤρκεσε πράξαι βασιλεὺς, οὐδ' ἂν τοσούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον διήνεγκεν, εἰ μὴ φρονήσει καὶ συνέσει τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπερέφερε, δι' ἣν καὶ αἱ νομοθεσίαι καὶ αἱ σωφροσύναι καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατορθοῦσθαι πεφύκασιν ἄρεται.

³ Cf. p. 50 and p. 75.

⁴ Spengel, ii, 36, 16.

⁵ Vv. 224 f.

and says that Alaric¹ fled to Rhaetia and took refuge fearfully on a hill, whence (vv. 321-323).

Comitatur euntem
Pallor et atra Fames et saucia lividus ora
Luctus et inferno stridentes agmine Morbi.

He cannot, as he would be expected to do in narrating τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον, show Honorius' fortitude at this time, for during this stormy period the Emperor was hiding, terror-stricken, at Milan.²

Claudian deals with τὰς πράξεις κατὰ εἰρήνην in verses 331-639, taking up first τὰ κατὰ τύχην. He tells at great length about the triumph at Rome, and how it was only when Roma herself persuaded him that Honorius came to participate in it. He mentions the great welcome which the citizens accorded their Emperor and describes the Circensian games which were part of the festival. Then he speaks of τὰ κατὰ σῶμα (vv. 560-564), and τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν (vv. 548-639).

In the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli* and in the *Laus Serenae*, our poet necessarily, because of the nature of his material, omitted τὰς πράξεις κατὰ πόλεμον, and proceeded at once with τὰς κατὰ εἰρήνην, as Menander advises:³ ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ εἰς πόλεμος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένος τύχη, . . . ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναγκαίως.⁴

Whether Claudian never completed the *Laus Serenae* or whether some verses are lost at the end of the poem, I am not prepared to say, but it is clear that no τόπος appears after the πράξεις and it is doubtful if even the πράξεις is complete. For τὰ κατὰ σῶμα are missing, though τὰ κατὰ τύχην and τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν are represented. First the poet sings of Serena's marriage to Stilicho (vv. 159-211), saying that Stilicho by his deeds showed such courage and prudence⁵ that Fortuna rewarded him with Serena as a wife (τὰ κατὰ τύχην).⁶ Then he takes

¹ Cf. also *Paneg. de VI Cons. Hon.* vv. 122 ff.

² J. H. E. Crees, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

³ Spengel, iii, 372, 31.

⁴ I am omitting detailed discussion of the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro* for it would entail many long quotations, and no new principle is involved. Suffice it to say in passing that τὰ κατὰ σῶμα are lacking in this panegyric but τὰ κατὰ τύχην and τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν are treated — τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν in verses 16-255 (φρόνησις 16-134, δικαιοσύνη 135-255, σωφροσύνη 223-255); τὰ κατὰ τύχην in verses 256-269.

⁵ This passage gives τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν of Stilicho as well as Serena's τὰ κατὰ τύχην.

⁶ Cf. Menander (Spengel, iii, 376, 25): μνημονεύσεις δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς τύχης, λέγων . . . ὅτι παίδων γένεσις αὐτῷ δεδώρηται, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, καὶ φίλοι πάντες εὖνοι καὶ δορυφόροι κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρόθυμοι.

up τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν; describing the various manifestations of Serena's love for Stilicho (vv. 211-225) and her courageous watchfulness over his interests while he was absent on the field of battle (vv. 225-236). Sedulously did she follow the political machinations of the wily Rufinus, always keeping her husband informed of the latest plots.¹

In the πράξεις of the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus*, Claudian draws his material not from the deeds of the person praised but from the various real and imaginary actions of other people. We have noted elsewhere the suggestion which the rhetores make to the effect that in cases of young men who have not as yet accomplished deeds worthy of praise, authors should work up a laudation using the outstanding acts of their forbears.² So, in vv. 31-60, our poet reminds us that everybody knows about the glorious reputation of the irreproachable Probus, father of Probinus and Olybrius. His fame is world-wide. For, though he has acquired much wealth, he has used it always for laudable ends; and, in governing the people of Illyria, Africa, and parts of Italy, he has shown his kindly considerateness and his ready justice.

Sed nati vicere patrem solique merentur
Victores audire Probi. Non contigit illi
Talis honor, prima cum parte viresceret aevi,
Nec consul cum fratre fuit.³

Continuing, the poet describes the goddess, Roma, as she prepares to go to the battlefield in search of Theodosius. There she asks him to make Probinus and Olybrius consuls as a reward to Probus for his services to the state. Theodosius replies that it is unnecessary for her to come; he is already mindful of Probus and his worth. He sends messengers to the city of Rome to order the consular robes made ready at once. Proba, the mother of the young men, helps with this pleasant duty.

¹ In the *Laus Herculis* we find a peculiar state of affairs. The πράξεις of this poem contains only those κατὰ πόλεμον and consequently the only virtue which the poet stresses is courage (ἀνδρεία). This he does by telling how Hercules conquered the Nemean lion, the Arcadian boar and the bull which terrorized the Dictaeon fields.

² Cf. p. 77, above.

³ Vv. 61-64.

Laetatur veneranda parens et pollice docto
Iam parat auratas trabeas cinctusque micantes.

Sic Proba praecipuo natos exornat amictu:
Quae decorat mundum, cuius Romana potestas
Fetibus augetur. . . .
Talem nulla refert antiquis pagina libris
Nec Latiae cecinere tubae nec Graia vetustas.
Coniuge digna Probo; nam tantum coetibus extat
Femineis, quantum supereminet ille maritos.

. . . O duplici fecundam consule matrem.
Felicemque uterum, qui nomina parturit annis!¹

When we take into account the use Claudian makes in this *πράξεις* of the acts of Probus and Proba, we understand why he omitted a discussion of them when he wrote the *γένος* of this poem.²

It is clear that for the most part this section on *πράξεις* relates τὰ ἕξω τῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰ κατὰ τύχην. Only in a few verses (150-155) does the poet speak of the boys themselves and their *πράξεις κατὰ ψυχὴν*:

Pieriis pollent studiis multoque redundant
Eloquio; nec desidiis dapibusve paratis
Indulgere iuvat nec tanta licentia vitae
Adripit aut mores aetas lasciva relaxat:
Sed gravibus curis animum sortita senilem
Ignea longaevo frenatur corde iuventus.

I have already called attention to the fact that Claudian, in accord with definite suggestions from the rhetores, has now and then taken liberties with the truth.³ Two other interesting examples of this practice occur, one in the *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship* and the other in the *Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship*. In the year 396 A.D. Stilicho was waging war against Alaric in Greece. Of the campaign Claudian writes: ⁴

Plaustra cruore natant: metitur pellita iuventus:
Pars morbo, pars ense perit. Non lustra Lycaeï,
Non Erymantheae iam copia sufficit umbrae
Innumeris exusta rogis, nudataque ferro

¹ Vv. 177-204.

³ P. 64 ff. and p. 68 ff.

² Cf. p. 66.

⁴ *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, vv. 465-479.

Sic flagrasse suas laetantur Maenala silvas.
 Gens, qua non Scythicos diffusior ulla Triones
 Incoluit, cui parvus Athos angustaque Thrace,
 Cum transiret, erat, per te viresque tuorum
 Fracta ducum lugetque sibi iam rara superstes,
 Et, quorum turbae spatium vix praebuit orbis,
 Uno colle latent.

As a matter of fact, the barbarians, who were repulsed by Stilicho, then in charge of the military operations, had escaped from the Romans and crossed into Epirus, where Alaric straightway began gathering forces for an invasion of Italy.¹ Stilicho had by no means completely conquered them. Consequently his contemporaries were accustomed to neglect the details of this campaign and merely to speak of the general's clemency, in that he did not put his foes to death. When, however, people had more or less forgotten what happened Claudian could color the truth as he pleased.

The same principle of παράλειψις and αὔξησις our poet used in the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu*. Describing the battle of Pollentia, he asserts² that the foe retired ignominiously.

But Orosius³ writes: "Taceo de infelicibus illis apud Pollentiam gestis, cum barbaro et pagano duci, hoc est Sauli, belli summa commissa est, cuius improbitate reverentissimi dies et sanctum pascha violatum est cedentique hosti propter religionem, ut pugnaret, extortum est cum quidem . . . pugnantes vicimus, victores victi sumus." In addition Cassiodorus⁴ says: "Pollentiae Stilichonem cum exercitu Romano Gothi victum acie fugaverunt." When we consider also what others have written about this same battle,⁵ the truth seems to be that Stilicho brought aid to the routed and nearly defeated Roman forces. He did not conquer the foe but merely repressed him.

¹ Cf. J. H. E. Crees: *op. cit.*, p. 72.

² Vv. 127-132.

³ Orosius 7, 37.

⁴ *Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator*, Th. Mommsen, Leipzig, 1861, p. 651.

⁵ Prudentius, *In Symmachum*, 2; Jordanes, *Getica*; and Claudian, *De Bello Getico*.

G. Σύγκρισις.

Hermogenes states that this is a most important division and one in which the author, using his best judgment, will say whatever circumstances and the occasion suggest.¹ As we saw in the introduction, the rhetores recognize two kinds of comparison, the general (σύγκρισις τελειοτάτη) where the whole subject is brought into a comprehensive comparison with one of like magnitude, and the partial (μερική), where one phase of the subject or a single quality is likened to some other.²

In Claudian's panegyrics there is only one example of general comparison, and even this is out of its prescribed place. The rhetores would have this τόπος follow the πράξεις, but this particular one we find in those verses (11-33) of the prooemium of the *Laus Serenae* in which the poet is showing the importance of his subject.³ Yet there is no question but that it is an example of σύγκρισις τελειοτάτη, for Serena is being compared with the well-known, faithful spouses of antiquity, Tanaquil, Cloelia, Claudia, and Penelope.

Of partial comparison, a virtue with a virtue, a country with a country, and so on, there are many instances in the panegyrics. They are divided by Doxopater into two groups:⁴ σύγκρισις ἢ ἴσου πρὸς ἴσον γίνεται . . . ἢ ἴσου πρὸς μείζονα. To treat all of the cases would be tedious and unprofitable, hence only a few will be presented for consideration.

A good example of comparison πρὸς μείζονα is found in the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Coss.* (vv. 18-28):

Nec quisquam procerum temptat, licet aere vetusto
Floreat et claro cingatur Roma senatu,
Se iactare parem; sed, prima sede relictā
Auchenii, de iure licet certare secundo:

¹ Spengel, ii, 13, 3 ff.

² Menander (Spengel, iii, 376, 31): ἤξεις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην σύγκρισιν, ἀντεξέταζων τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν, οὐ καθαιρῶν ἐκείνας· ἄτεχνον γάρ, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζων μὲν ἐκείνας, τὸ δὲ τέλειον ἀποδίδους τῇ παρουσίᾳ. οὐκ ἐπιλήσῃ δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου θεωρήματος, ὅτι ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν κεφαλαίων ποιήσει συγκρίσεις, ἀλλ' ἐκείναι μὲν ἔσσονται μερικά, οἷον παιδείας πρὸς παιδείαν ἢ σωφροσύνης πρὸς σωφροσύνην, αὐταὶ δὲ περὶ ὅλης ἔσσονται τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὡσανεὶ βασιλείαν ὅλην ἀθρόως καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ πρὸς ὅλην βασιλείαν συγκρίνομεν, οἷον τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν.

³ Cf. p. 59.

⁴ Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* ii, 446, 13.

Haud secus ac tacitam Luna regnante per aethram
 Sidereae cedunt acies, cum fratre retuso
 Aemulus adversis flagraverit ignibus orbis;
 Tunc iubar Arcturi languet, tunc fulva Leonis
 Ira perit, Plaustro iam rara intermicat Arctos
 Indignata tegi, iam caligantibus armis
 Debilis Orion dextram miratur inertem.

Another instance of this kind of comparison may be seen in the ἀνατροπή (vv. 51-62) of the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii*.¹

Of that type of partial comparison in which the poet compares the person he is praising to someone or something which is not superior to him (ἴσος πρὸς ἴσον) two out of many examples will suffice. The first is from the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu* (vv. 73-82):

Quae tibi tum Martis rabies quantusque sequendi
 Ardor erat ? quanto flagrabant pectora voto
 Optatas audire tubas campique cruenta
 Tempestate frui truncisque immergere plantas ?
 Ut leo, quem fulvae matris spelunca tegebat
 Uberibus solitum pasci, cum crescere sensit
 Ungue pedes et terga iubis et dentibus ora,
 Iam negat imbelles epulas et rupe relictā
 Gaetulo comes ire patri stabulisque minari
 Aestuat et celsi tabo sordere iuveni.

The other example is a striking picture of Alaric's downfall as told in the *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu* (vv. 127-143):

Iam Pollentini tenuatus funere campi
 Concessaque sibi (rerum sic admonet usus)
 Luce, tot amissis sociis atque omnibus una
 Direptis opibus, Latio discedere iussus
 Hostis et inmensi revolutus culmine fati
 Turpe retexit iter. Qualis piratica puppis,
 Quae cunctis infensa fretis scelerumque referta
 Divitiis multasque diu populata carinas
 Incidit in magnam bellatricemque triremim,
 Dum praedam de more putat; viduataque caesis
 Remigibus, scissis velorum debilis alis,
 Orba gubernaculis, antennis saucia fractis
 Ludibrium pelagi vento iactatur et unda,

¹ These verses are quoted on p. 71.

Vastato tandem poenas luitura profundo:
Talis ab urbe minas retro flectebat inanes
Italiam fugiens, et quae venientibus ante
Prona fuit, iam difficilis, iam dura reversis.¹

H. Ἐπίλογος

As in the prooemium and the σύγκρισις, the material for the epilogue depends much upon the subject matter of the encomium. Sometimes, for instance, the encomiast may briefly resume the outstanding deeds of the person praised, a procedure recommended by Nicolaus Sophista² and by Longinus.³ Claudian does this in the epilogue to the *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii* (vv. 621-637):

Quotiens te cursibus aevi
Praefecit, totiens accessit laurea patri.
Ausi Danuvium quondam transnare Gruthungi
In lyntres fregere nemus; ter mille ruebant
Per fluvium plenae cuneis inmanibus alni.
Dux Odothaeus erat. Tantaе conamina classis
Incipiens aetas et primus contudit annus:
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Civile secundis
Conficis auspiciis bellum. Tibi debeat orbis
Fata Gruthungorum debellatumque tyrannum:
Hister sanguineos egit te consule fluctus;
Alpinos genitor rupit te consule montes.

Or again the rhetores suggest that the epilogue be made to end with a prayer. Menander writes:⁴ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις εὐχὴν ἐρεῖς αἰτῶν παρὰ θεοῦ εἰς μῆκιστον χρόνον προελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, διαδοθῆναι εἰς παῖδας, παραδοθῆναι τῷ γένει. Claudian ends nearly all of his panegyrics with

¹ A complete list of the συγκρίσεις in the encomia of Claudian follows: *Paneg. Dict. Probino et Olybrio Coss.*: vv. 22-28; 119-120; 147-149; 183-194; 194-196; *Paneg. de III Cons. Hon.* 60-63; 77-82; *de IV Cons. Hon.* 62-69; 197-202; 206-211; 419-427; 507-509; 525-526; 532-538; 554-557; 570-576; 602-610: *Paneg. Dict. Manlio Theodoro Cos.* 42-50; 206-213; *de VI Cons. Hon.* 18-25; 132-145; 259-264; 523-542; *Laus Serenae* 121-131; 141-145; 162-185; 201-211: *Laus Herculis*, 60-64.

² Spengel, iii, 450, 32.

³ Spengel, i, 301, 24.

⁴ Spengel, iii, 377, 28; cf. also Spengel, iii, 422, 3, and Aphthonius (Spengel, ii, 36, 18).

this device.¹ A short illustration may be taken from the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli* (vv. 333-340):

Consul per populos idemque gravissimus auctor
 Eloquii, duplici vita subnixus in aevum
 Procedat pariter libris fastisque legendus.
 Accipiat patris exemplum tribuatque nepoti
 Filius et coeptis ne desit fascibus heres.
 Decurrat trabeata domus tradatque secures
 Mutua posteritas servatoque ordine fati
 Manlia continuo numeretur consule proles.

That the reader may see more clearly how much the teachings of the rhetores pervade Claudian's panegyrics, a table is inserted here, showing for each poem the groups of verses which fall under the various *τόποι*.

	Probino et Olybrio Coss.	De Tertio Consulatu Honorii	De Quarto Consulatu Honorii	Manlio Theodoro Consuli	De Sexto Consulatu Honorii	Laus Serenae	Laus Herculis
προσίμιον	1-7	1-12	1-17	1-16	1-12	1-33	1-20
γένος	8-28	....	18-21	....	13-64	34-69	10-11
γένεσις . . . . .	....	12-22	121-156	....	....	70-85	21-35
ἀνατροφή . . . . .	....	22-62	157-352 369-427	....	53-76	86-131	36-74
ἐπιτηδεύματα . . . . .	....	63-87	353-369	....	77-100	132-159	....
πράξεις	29-265	88-188	428-619	16-269	101-639	159-236	75-137
σύγκρισις	Cf. pp. 83 ff. above.					11-33	
ἐπίλογος	266-279	189-211	619-656	270-340	640-660	....	....

Nearly all of the headings are represented in the *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii*, *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii*, *Laus Serenae*, and *Laus Herculis*. Although some of the divisions are missing in the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus* and in the *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli*, even in these encomia the poet has presented a *προσίμιον*, a *πράξεις* and an *ἐπίλογος* which follow the precepts of

¹ Cf. *Paneg. Dict. Probino et Olybrio Coss.*, 226-279; *de Tertio Cons. Hon.*, 189-211; *de IV Cons. Hon.*, 619-656; *de VI Cons. Hon.* 640-660.

the rhetoricians. Hence from the table and the foregoing exposition, it is evident that in the arrangement of the material in his panegyrics Claudian has obeyed strictly the rules which had been formulated by the great body of rhetores who had preceded him. In minor matters, too, unless extremely important considerations made such a course of action imprudent or impracticable, he followed the specific instructions which the rhetoricians had given for use whenever certain definite conditions existed. While it would be impossible to maintain that the poet had always set out with the well defined intention of writing this or that poem according to a body of fixed rules, the study of his panegyrics does show that Claudian has been continually guided in his workmanship by the precepts of the rhetores.

THE DECREE-SELLER IN THE *BIRDS*, AND THE PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS AT ATHENS

BY CARL NEWELL JACKSON

IN that scene in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (903-1057) in which Pithetaerus tries in vain to sacrifice to the gods of the new city, there appear several characters who expect to derive personal profit from participating in the founding of Cloudcuckootown. They represent Athenian citizens, each exhibiting typically certain aspects of society in Athens which aroused Aristophanes's fervent disapprobation. The poet's attitude toward these pests and bores is reflected in the manner of reception accorded them by Pithetaerus. As he discovers to his amazement the self-interest which prompts their coming, his patience grows less and less with each new arrival. His briefest interview is with his last visitor, the ψηφισματοπώλης, a seller of decrees. This personage and the ἐπίσκοπος, who precedes him in the scene, are obviously political characters, base products of the Athenian democracy, and as such worthy objects of the comic poet's satire.

The word ψηφισματοπώλης itself was apparently coined by Aristophanes and as it is not found elsewhere in literature, any information to be obtained about this character must be sought in the short dialogue between him and Pithetaerus (1035 sqq.), and in the scholia pertinent to this passage. The reader of the *Birds* will recall that the ψηφισματοπώλης comes for the purpose of vending laws (νόμους νέους . . . πωλήσων), and that he recites portions of three laws more or less apposite to the dramatic situation. Of decisive evidence as to the identity of this character there is nothing. It is therefore a gratuitous assumption on the part of Kock to declare in his note on line 1035: — "Da die Psephismen nun mit der wachsenden Demokratie sich stark vermehrten und die abhängigen Staaten ein grosses Interesse hatten nicht unbekannt damit zu bleiben, so wurde die Aufzeichnung und der Verkauf

derselben von einer eigenen Klasse von Geschäftsleuten, den ψηφισματοπῶλαι, betrieben." ¹

The absurdity of such an explanation was shown by van Leeuwen in his comment on this line. The German scholar indeed had missed the point of Aristophanes's satire. Blaydes on the other hand, acting probably on the statement in the Argument to the play, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα παίζει, ἐπίσκοπον ἢ ψηφισματογράφον, κτλ., had perceived that the satire was directed against both the propensity of the Athenians to legislate and the venality of the demagogues. But no attempt has been made, so far as I know, to identify the ψηφισματοπώλης himself as one of a recognized class of citizens in the state. The requisite bit of information may possibly be furnished by the scholium on line 1038: ψηφισματοπώλης· οὗς νομορήτορας φάμεν οἱ τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ μισθῷ πωλοῦσιν. On the basis of this assertion and of the word ψηφισματογράφος in the Argument we are perhaps justified in believing that the ψηφισματοπώλης represents one aspect of the class of professional politicians, οἱ ῥήτορες, and that the satire in this scene is aimed at the venality of these politicians and their traffic in legislation.

As a vendor this character is to be compared with the various 'πῶλαι' in the *Knights*, the στυππειοπώλης, the προβατοπώλης, the βυρσοπώλης, the ἀλλαντοπώλης, and the λυχνοπώλης (*Eq.* 129-143; 739), all politicians in Athens, masquerading behind a thin disguise of trade-names. Traffickers, to be sure, of all kinds encounter Aristophanes's hatred and scorn, and since ψηφίσματα mean to him the worst aspects of political interests and activity,² the ψηφισματοπώλης is, as it were, a double-dyed villain, exemplifying particularly perhaps the most prominent feature of political life in Athens, namely venality, just as the πατραλοίας in the *Birds* (1337 sqq.) in the word itself presents one salient trait of the "bad young man." As a ῥήτωρ then the ψηφισματοπώλης naturally stirred Pithetaerus's indignation.

The word ῥήτωρ is used in a variety of significations. It means first of all a public speaker, whether practised or not in τέχνη ῥητορική; thus Suidas s.v.: τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δῆμῳ συμβουλευὼν καὶ

¹ Notes to the same effect are in the editions of Rogers and Merry.

² So Neil on *Eq.* 1383; cf. *Nub.* 1429.

ὁ ἐν δήμῳ ἀγορεύων, εἴτε ἱκανὸς εἴη λέγειν εἴτε καὶ ἀδύνατος, and in this sense it is opposed to *ιδιώτης*, as professional to layman.¹ It may be used by the orator of himself or of his opponent.² In the plural it is found at times in the good sense of speakers in the legislative assemblies, though generally qualified by adjectives, as *σοφούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ῥήτορας* (Plato, *Theaet.* 167c: cf. also *Symp.* 215d), *ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι* (Dem. 18, 219), *ἀρίστους* (Isocr. *Antid.* 231), — that is to say, with the meaning “statesmen,” and hence, in the triple division of oratory, *συμβουλευτικοί*.³

Another meaning of the word *ῥήτωρ*, singular or plural, is a speaker in the law-courts, a defendant or his lawyer (*συνήγορος*), and thus, technically speaking, *δικανικός*, a meaning not uncommon in Plato.⁴ Thirdly the word may bear the meaning, in a good or bad sense, of one practised in *ῥητορικὴ*, as a teacher or a practitioner of the art, that is *ἐπιδεικτικός*.⁵

Finally, the term is often used in a bad sense, in the plural generally, to signify the professional politicians, venal, corrupt, immoral, unpatriotic, who are the habitual speakers in law-courts, the Senate, and the Assembly;⁶ *οἱ λέγοντες* and *οἱ παριόντες* are often found as synonyms.⁷ The distinction to be drawn between “politician” and “statesman” is clearly made by Demosthenes (21, 189): καὶ “*ῥήτωρ ἐστὶν οὗτος*” ἴσως ἐμὲ φήσει λέγων· ἐγὼ δ’, εἰ

¹ Cf. Aeschin. 3, 214, 233, 252 sq. *ἀνὴρ ιδιώτης* and *ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ*, Alcidas, *de Soph.* 1, Dem. 25, 40 and 97, Isocr., *Areop.* 14. The *ιδιώτης*, face to face with the *ῥήτωρ*, is conscious of his inferiority and mistrusts the latter’s technical skill: e.g., Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 31, *Λεωκράτης μὲν ἀναβοήσεται αὐτίκα ὡς ιδιώτης ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ συκοφάντου δεινότητος ἀναρπαζόμενος*.

² Cf. e.g., Dem. 18, 130 and 212.

³ Cf. Aristoph. *Thes.* 292; *Eccl.* 244.

⁴ Cf., for example, *Theaet.* 172c sqq.; *Euthyd.* 305b; *Apol.* 17b. See also Photius s.v.: οὐχ οἱ συνήγοροι, ἀλλ’ οἱ τὴν ἰδίαν γνώμην λέγοντες, a phrase that discriminates between the lawyer and those who plead their own case. Cf. *Soph. Frag.* 986 N, *ῥήτωρ συνήγορος* and *Plut. De Vitiosa Pudore*, 16, 534 F, and *Alciphron* 2, 26, and 4, 4, 4. In Plato, *Apol.* 23e *ῥητόρων* is of uncertain meaning, but probably signifies “politicians.” In *Euthyd.* 284b Plato uses the word to mean “speakers in the assembly.” For Aristoph., cf. *Ach.* 680.

⁵ Cf. Aristoph. *Daitaleis, Frag.* 198 K; Plato, *Menex.* 235c, *Gorg.* 449a, etc.

⁶ Cf. Aeschin. 3, 9, *τοὺς τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου*.

⁷ Cf. especially Isocr. *De Pace*, § 1, *οἱ λέγοντες*, § 3, *οἱ παριόντες*, § 5, *οἱ ῥήτορες*.

μὲν ὁ συμβουλευὼν ὃ τι ἂν συμφέρειν ὑμῖν ἡγήται, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄχρι τοῦ μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ῥήτωρ ἐστίν, οὔτε φύγοιμ' ἂν οὔτ' ἀπαρνοῦμαι τοῦτο τοῦνομα· εἰ μέντοι ῥήτωρ ἐστὶν οἷους ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς δ' ὁρᾶτε, ἀναιδεῖς καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶν πεπλουτηκότας, οὐκ ἂν εἶην οὗτος ἐγώ.¹

Such then are the shades of meaning which the word ῥήτωρ bears. If now the ψηφισματοπώλης is to be regarded as representative of οἱ ῥήτορες, what has Aristophanes himself to say about them explicitly in his other plays? For, as has been shown, in the scene in the *Birds* in question his opinion is only implied. In answering this question it will not be amiss to go farther afield and survey the evidence, relative to οἱ ῥήτορες as a depreciatory term, which is offered by the writers of Aristophanes's own time, as well as by those of the following century.

It will be found that there is in general a unanimity of opinion, that the charges brought by Aristophanes against these practical politicians are the charges brought by the orators,² historians, and philosophers of the same and succeeding generations. To put the case succinctly, before examining the details, the charges are these: the politicians, οἱ ῥήτορες, are corrupt and unpatriotic; they are actuated in their public career by motives of self-interest; they manipulate the statutes and laws to their own personal profit; they practise peculation and are spoilsmen; they hold caucuses and form rings; to further their schemes they engage in log-rolling; they league themselves with the most powerful officials to gain control of the state; they favor war rather than peace; irresponsible

¹ Cf. also *Epistle*, 1, 10 and Isocr. *De Pace* 26. The ῥήτωρ may be included in the πολιτικός, a man who engages in public life (Plato, *Phaedr.* 257e and 258b): at the same time the two words are discriminated, as Isocr. *Epistle*, 8, 7, ἐγὼ τοῦ μὲν πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ῥητορεύειν ἀπέστην· οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν ἔσχον ἱκανὴν οὔτε τόλμαν. (Cf. also Plato, *Politicus*, 304d and Dem. 18, 178). For other distinctions, cf. [Dem.] 59, 43, οὐ γὰρ πῶ ἦν ῥήτωρ, ἀλλ' ἔτι συκοφάντης κτλ: Plut. *Pericles*, 39, 4, ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ἑτέρων: Lysias, 3, 27, τίς γὰρ ἂν ποτε ῥήτωρ ἐνεθυμήθη ἢ νομοθέτης ἤλπισεν κτλ: Alcidas, *de Soph.* 34, ῥήτωρ γενέσθαι δεινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητὴς λόγων ἱκανός, i.e., a speaker rather than a writer (and so Plato, *Euthyd.* 304c, and cf. Plut., *Conj. Praecepta*, 29, 142A): and Aristotle, *Probl.* 917a 3, διὰ τί τὸν φιλόσοφον τοῦ ῥήτορος οἴονται διαφέρειν κτλ.

² By the word 'orators' I mean in this paper the so-called Ten Attic Orators.

and potent they are indifferent to the welfare of the people; they give bad advice and are enemies of the state. This indictment has a familiar ring. οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὕγιες ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν περὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράττει, says Plato in the *Republic* 496c.

The rise of the *ρήτορες* as a powerful and obnoxious clique to so commanding a position in public affairs that they constituted in the opinion of patriotic Athenians a menace to the state can be clearly observed at the time immediately following the death of Pericles. They were also active, as Plutarch tells us, in the age of Pericles, for in the political struggles between that leader and Thucydides, the latter's party (τῶν περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥητόρων) charged Pericles with squandering the public funds (Plutarch, *Pericles*, c. 14). Pericles himself was able to keep his own partisans under control, employing them to transact the ordinary business of the government and reserving himself for matters of great moment (*ibid.* 7, 5). The *ρήτορες* had also received by this time a certain legal notice, involving however no official recognition, in an inscription of c. 445 B.C.¹ Herein are contained provisions for sending out a colony from Athens to Brea in Thrace, with clauses relating apparently to parliamentary procedure and the control of debate. The arrival of Gorgias in Athens and the consequent arousal of interest in the spoken word must have been a contributing factor of no mean importance towards the development of this profession. Aristophanes himself at this very time in his play the *Banqueters* had begun to satirize the new customs of the day. "C'était aux politiciens de profession," says Croiset,² "que le poète s'en prenait: et par là, il faut entendre ceux qui commençaient alors, dans Athènes, à transformer la politique en un métier lucratif."

To this attack he returned again and again in the subsequent plays. Thucydides, in the speeches attributed to Cleon and Diodotus (3, 37 sqq. and 42 sqq.), relative to the Mytilenaeans, had pointed to the mischievous influence which the *ρήτορες* had already acquired in the state in shaping public policy, assigning as the reason for their power their ability to mislead their hearers by the

¹ IG, I, 31: Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (1901), p. 37.

² M. Croiset, *Aristophane et les Partis à Athènes* (1906), p. 52.

charm of words. It requires no extended argument to show that these practised debaters and advocates in the Senate, Assembly, and courts, with their knowledge of procedure and the rules of debate, and with their political experience in general, could, though without official position, direct the management of public affairs. Putting almost invariably their own self-interest above the interest of the state,¹ these habitual speakers dominated politics and made the people their easy prey.² They were therefore held in general detestation, as the following citations, first of Aristophanes, then of other writers, show.

The vituperative epithets which the comic poet and the orators of the fourth century hurled at the *ρήτορες*³ reveal at once this attitude of mind. Aristophanes denounced their vileness and immorality (*Eq.* 880: cf. also *Nub.* 1093; *Eccl.* 113) as well as their shameless bravado (*Eq.* 325), their brawling and bluster, (*Ach.* 38; *Eq.* 358), "the blowing and bawling politician," as Whitman puts it. In the orators the virulence of party hatred led to similar denunciations which are comparable with the mud-slinging of modern political campaigns. The *ρήτορες* were called *πονηροί* and *τολμηροί* by Aeschines (3, 234),⁴ *πονηροί* by Isocrates (*De Pace* 129), *κατάραιοι καὶ θεοὺς ἐχθροί* by Demosthenes (23, 201: cf. 25, 97), who ranked them with *σοφιστῆς ἢ γόης* (29, 32; cf. Plato, *Politicus*, 291b), and *θορύβου μόνον καὶ κραυγῆς κύριοι* by Hyperides (1, 2, 11). Both Isocrates and Demosthenes affirmed that they constituted the worst class in the state (*De Pace*, 129 and 23, 146 respectively).

Aristophanes moreover quotes an old proverb *ὑπὸ λίθῳ γὰρ | παντὶ πον χρεῖ | μὴ δάκῃ ρήτωρ ἀθρεῖν*, in which the *λίθος* is the bema of the Pnyx and the rhetor the scorpion.⁵ A similar comparison (*τοὺς ρήτορας ὁμοίους τοῖς ὄφεσι*) is made by Hyperides (*Fr.* 80). Isocrates

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893), 2, 110.

² So Thucydides, *loc. cit.* That Euripides's opinion of them is like in most respects to that of Aristophanes is shown by Masqueray, *Euripides et ses Idées* (1908), p. 370, and Nestle, *Euripides* (1901), 318 sqq. Cf. Aristophanes, *Ach.* and *Eq.* *passim*.

³ Aristophanes mentions the speakers in the Assembly (e.g., *Ach.* 38; *Thes.* 292; *Eccl.* 244) and the courts (*Ach.* 680), as well as the rhetoricians (*Frag.* 198 K.).

⁴ Cf. also 3, 20 *τρονφῶσι*.

⁵ *Thes.* 530 and cf. Fritzsche *ad loc.*

likens them to *κόρακες* as being the spiritual descendants of Κόραξ, the father of rhetoric (*Fr.* 3 (δ') 1), Demosthenes often calls them *θηρία* (e.g., 24, 143), and Aristotle is our authority (*Rhet.* 3, 1407a 7) for the comparison made by Democrates with *τίτθαι αἱ τὸ ψῶμισμα καταπίνουσαι τῷ σιάλῳ τὰ παιδία παραλείφουσιν*, that is to say, unscrupulous politicians who by flattering the people were enabled to retain for themselves the substantial profits.

If the secret of their success lay in their ability to dupe their audiences through oratorical skill, the effective method of exercising that power resided in the combinations or rings which they formed among themselves. Though Aristophanes makes no direct reference to such cliques,¹ Plutarch mentions the group which gathered under the leadership of Thucydides (*Pericles* c. 14) in opposition to Pericles, and also the party of Alcibiades (*Pericles* 20, 3, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες) with its advocacy of the ill-fated Sicilian expedition. By the fourth century these rings became a regular feature of political activity, τῶν ἡθάρων καὶ συνεστηκότων ῥητόρων, as Demosthenes calls them (22, 37; cf. 18, 226), and again, *συνιστάμενοι οἱ ῥήτορες οἱ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ* (24, 147). Aeschines likewise refers to them, *ἀνιστάμενοι δὲ οἱ συνεταγμένοι ῥήτορες* (2, 74 and 1, 34), and to the collusion which they practised with the *στρατηγοί* (3, 7).²

Possessed of the power which comes from combinations of this character, these politicians were naturally approached by citizens, by office-holders, and by lobbyists in general who had axes to grind. The opposition to Alcibiades after his departure on the Sicilian expedition was fostered by lobbyists who had secured the support of the *ῥήτορες*. Thus Thucydides (6, 29, 3) speaks of the opponents of Alcibiades ἄλλους ῥήτορας ἐνιέντες, and Isocrates in similar vein, οἱ δὲ συστήσαντες τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι πάλιν ἡγείρον τὸ πρᾶγμα.³ Aeschines declares (3, 9) that the highest officials in the state were able to win the services of the politicians in the Senate and the Assembly and thus frustrate the examinations of accounts to which they themselves were liable. The Plataeans in their plea to the Athenians (*Isocr. Plat.* 3) complained

¹ Cf. however *Eq.* 60 and 358; in *Lys.* 577 *συνισταμένους* of ἔταιρεῖται.

² For this political combination, see below p. 98.

³ *De Bigis* 7.

that they were beset not only by the Thebans but by the most powerful of the speakers whom the Thebans had procured as their advocates (*παρεσκενάσαντο συνηγόρους*). It is in this capacity of advocates that the *ρήτορες* make their appearance in the legal speeches, and the invidious connotation of the verb *παρεσκενάζομαι* is well known.¹ They were of course reimbursed for the services which they rendered their clients, and they were most susceptible to bribery. The charge of venality was indeed the most common charge levelled against them. Aristophanes in the *Plutus* (379) speaks of stuffing the mouths of the politicians with small coins, and the orators of the fourth century monotonously reiterate this theme,² orators who were themselves in some cases guilty of the very practice that they self-righteously condemned. Venality was a fault inherent in the character of the ancient Greeks, and Anacharsis, it will be remembered, laughed at Solon for imagining that the dishonesty and covetousness of his fellow-citizens could be restrained by written laws.³ The political activity of the *ρήτορες* therefore was due, broadly speaking, not to motives of disinterestedness nor desire for political advancement, but to motives of self-enrichment at the expense of their fellow-citizens and the state.⁴

In consequence, such charges as the following were brought against these politicians. In the first place they were accused of conducting a traffic in decrees and laws. The *ψηφισματοπώλης* in the *Birds* embodies in all probability this phase of the pernicious activity of politicians in moving, altering, and misinterpreting laws for the benefit of their particular clients. A simple illustration is given by Lysias (13, 72): *τὰ μέντοι ὀνόματα διαπράττονται τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν, δόντες ἀργύριον τῷ ῥήτορι, προσγραφῆναι εἰς τὴν στήλην ὡς εὐεργέτας ὄντας*: but the best commentary is to be found in two passages in Demosthenes and Dinarchus,⁵ namely: *οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτῇ τῆς πόλεως ἡ δωρεὰ προπεπηλάκισται καὶ φαύλη γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαι*

¹ Cf., e.g., Isaeus, 1, 7; [Dem.] 48, 36 and 51, 2.

² Cf. for instance Isocr. *Antid.* 30, and Dinarch. *c. Dem.* 4 and 98.

³ Plutarch, *Solon*, 5.

⁴ Cf. Lysias, 18; 16 and Isocr. *Antid.* 30 and Dinarch. *c. Dem.* 98.

⁵ 23, 201 and 1, 41 respectively. Cf. also Dem. 23, 184 and 24, 142; Aeschin. 3, 33; Dinarch. 1, 88.

διὰ τὴν τῶν καταράτων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ῥητόρων, τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γραφόντων ἐτοίμως, πονηρίαν, οἷ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν πεποίηνται τῆς αὐτῶν αἰσχροκερδείας ὥστε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν δωρείας, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ κομιδῇ φαῦλ' ἀποκηρύττοντες, οὕτω πωλοῦσιν ἐπευωνίζοντες καὶ πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λημμάτων γράφοντες πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται, and from Dinarchus, ἀπὸ ποίων ψηφισμάτων οὗτος ἢ ποίων νόμων οὐκ εἴληφεν ἀργύριον; εἰσὶ τινες ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις γεγεννημένων, ὅθ' οὗτος ἐτίθει τὸν περὶ τῶν τριηράρχων νόμον; οὐ φράσετε τοῖς πλησίον ὅτι τρία τάλαντα λαβὼν μετέγραφε καὶ μετεσκεύαζε τὸν νόμον καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπώλει ὧν εἰλήφει τὴν τιμὴν, τὰ δ' ἀποδόμενος οὐκ ἐβεβαίον;

Secondly, the charge is made by Aristophanes and repeated in later writers that the politicians unlawfully appropriated public property to their own use. In the *Plutus* 566 sqq. is the statement that the *ῥήτορες*

ὁπότεν μὲν

ᾧσι πένητες, περὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ δίκαιοι,
πλουτήσαντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν παραχρήμ' ἄδικοι γεγέννηται,
ἐπιβουλεύουσὶ τε τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολεμοῦσιν,¹

and of interest is a parallel passage in Demosthenes, 24, 124:² οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ῥήτορες οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν ἐκ πενήτων πλούσιοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως γιγνόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προπηλακίζουσι τὸ πλῆθος. To conceal one's speculations successfully is a measure of the politician's ability, and he who has read the *Knights* of Aristophanes will remember the prophecy of a *ῥήτωρ* to the Sausage-seller that his successful theft and concealment of a piece of meat marked him as a future ruler of the state (*Eq.* 524). Similarly, Aeschines accuses the politicians of gaining a living off the public revenues (2, 161) and of profiteering by the war (*ibid.*, and 2, 79).

This particular form of speculation seems to have been commonly practised by these politicians. In his play *Peace*, Aristophanes, recurring to an old theme, describes the longing for peace that the poor farmers of Attica had and the wretched treatment accorded them by the speakers (οἱ λέγοντες, 635 sqq.), who, though aware of the prevailing distress, routed peace from the land, hoping thereby

¹ Cf. also *ibid.*, 30.

² Cf. also 22, 66 and Isocr. *Pan.* 12.

to make money by accusing falsely the wealthy allies. In the *Acharnians* (38) Dicaeopolis, one of these poor farmers, in his yearning for peace, comes to the meeting of the Assembly prepared to bawl down the *ρήτορες* if the subject of peace is not discussed. In short, οὐκ ἤρεσκέ τισι τῶν ρητόρων ἡ εἰρήνη, says Aeschines (2, 161): for ἐπλούτουν τινὲς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων.

It was consequently to the interest of the politicians to arouse the warlike spirit of the people and to incite them to the declaration of war,¹ by urging as arguments not only the recovery of former power but also the material profits to be gained.² It is natural then that the politicians should oppose the making of peace, maintaining, as Andocides tells us (*De Pace* 3, 1), that peace would mean in effect the overthrow of the existing government. By such iniquitous and chauvinistic arguments as these did the politicians, in the opinion of the orators, work mischief to the state.

To further the policies that made for war, the *ρήτορες* could act in collusion with the *στρατηγοί*, the board of generals and admirals who held the highest political office in the state.³ These officials and the politicians worked for mutual profit and protection. At the head of each party in the Assembly was a *ρήτωρ* and beneath him⁴ a general whose acts were defended by the speaker in the Assembly.⁵ The method of log-rolling pursued by the *ρήτορες* with these officials is described by Plutarch (*Phocion* 7). "The administration of affairs was cut and parcelled out between the military men and the public speakers, so that neither these nor those should interfere with the claims of the others. As the one were to

¹ Cf. Isocr. *Phil.* 3; *De Pace* 5; [Dem.] 48, 24; Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Aphroth.* 188 D.

² Cf. Isocr. *De Pace* 6.

³ For this common collocation of the terms *ρήτορες* and *στρατηγοί* cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2, 6, 15; Dem. 23, 184 and *Epistle*, 1, 8; Hyp. 1, 25, 1; Dinarch. 2, 26; Aristotle *Rhet.* 3, 1388b, 18; Plut. *Pericles* c. 36.

⁴ Dem. 2, 29, *ρήτωρ* ἡγεμὼν ἐκατέρων καὶ *στρατηγός* ὑπὸ τοῦτῳ.

⁵ Cf. Aeschin. 2, 184 and Phocion's intercession. Of their influence in the Assembly; cf. Dem. 18, 170: ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; παρῆει δ' οὐδεὶς, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν *στρατηγῶν* παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν *ρητόρων*. Isocrates, *Phil.* 81, prided himself on being neither *στρατηγός* nor *ρήτωρ*, lacking the *τόλμη* of the one and the *φωνή* of the other.

address the assemblies, to draw up votes and prepare motions, and were to push their interests here; so, in the meantime, others were to make their profit by war and in military commands.”¹ The combined influence of these two classes was most potent and dangerous to the welfare of the state.² In the *Androtion* (22, 66) Demosthenes declares that the treasury had been robbed, that many generals and politicians had been brought to justice for peculation, and he accuses Androtion in fact of being one of them. In the affair of Harpalus both generals and politicians played a sorry rôle and they were the objects of attack on the part of both Dinarchus (1, 112) and Hyperides (1, 24, 4) for venality.

Since these *ρήτορες* placed politics above statemanship and since they were guided in their political career by motives of self-interest, the counsels given by them in the legislative bodies were inimical to the common weal. “If two politicians,” says Agoracritus to Demus in the *Knights* (1350 sqq.), “should advise, one building ships of war, the other spending the money on the jurors, the latter with his proposal of pay would win over the former.” Such appeals made to the baser instincts and passions³ of the Athenians were sure to carry the day. By beguiling their audiences with cozening words, by playing to the Athenian love of flattery, these politicians were able to practise deception⁴ and thus promote their own selfish schemes. Thucydides is full of disparaging assertions of the fickleness of the mob and of the pernicious influence exercised by the politicians,⁵ and additional evidence in other writers is not far to seek. Seduced then by the politicians, the Athenians voted measures which were in the interest not of the state but of their evil advisers,⁶ and later, when they viewed their action in the light of reason, they repented and visited their displeasure upon these evil

¹ Clough's translation, with omissions. See also Plut. *De Amore Fraternali*, 486 D.

² So Aeschin. 3, 7; Dem. 18, 205; Hyp. 3, 27.

³ Cf. for example, Lysias 22, 2.

⁴ *ἐξαπατάω* is the *vox propria*. Cf. for example the opening scene and the parabasis of the *Acharnians*, and the *Knights*, *passim*, especially 213 sqq. and 1340.

⁵ Cf. 2, 21, 3; 2, 59; 2, 65; 3, 36 sqq.; 4, 28; 8, 1.

⁶ Cf. Lysias 18, 16, and 30, 22; Aeschin. 2, 74; Dem. 3, 21; Dinarch. *c. Dem.* 99; Isocr. *Antid.* 138; and Ar. *Vesp.* 1095.

counsellors. So Thucydides 8, 1, ἐπειδὴ τε ἔγνωσαν (i.e., the result of the Sicilian expedition), χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς ξυμπροθυμηθείσι τῶν ῥητόρων τὸν ἔκπλουν, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ ψηφισάμενοι.¹

As a result of the misguidance of the people by the politicians, it was not uncommon for an orator to oppose the proposals of the politician as illegal, and to pose as the champion of the established institutions of the state as against the politician who would undermine² the constitution. χρὴ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, says Aeschines (3, 16), τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφιῇ ὁ νόμος, ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ, τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ χρὴ δίδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ.³

To curb the wrongful power of these unscrupulous politicians, various measures were adopted by the Athenians, who in the fourth century at least perceived the necessity of some such step.⁴ In the first place, we are told that at the opening of each meeting of the Assembly a curse was pronounced by the herald upon whoever deceitfully advised the Senate, the Assembly, or the law courts.⁵ But a public curse proved to be no effectual deterrent. A more drastic penalty was devised against those who would seduce the people by bad advice. A law of impeachment, of uncertain date, was passed defining as offences against the state the acts of (1) those who were charged with conspiracy against the Athenian democracy, (2) those who were charged with betraying cities or military or naval forces to the public enemy, or holding treasonable communication with them, and (3) those speakers who were charged with being bribed by the public enemies to give evil advice to the people.⁶ Against persons accused of such crimes of high treason, a public accusation, εἰσαγγελία, could be brought, and the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός of the fourth century is given in full by Hyperides in his oration for

¹ Similarly Ar. *Eccl.* 195; and cf. Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2, 17 and Isocr. *Pan.* 15.

² λυμάλνομαι is the technical term; e.g. Eurip. *Frag.* 597 N and the Orators *passim*.

³ And so Dem. 24, 142; Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 11, 154 F; and cf. Aeschin. 3, 130.

⁴ Cf. Ps. Xen. *Pol. Ath.* 3, 13; Isocr. *c. Loch.* 3; Hyp. 1, 21, 23; Dinarch. 1, 17.

⁵ Dem. 23, 97 and cf. 19, 70.

⁶ ἡ ῥήτωρ ὦν μὴ λέγῃ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων χρήματα λαμβάνων — Hyperides 3, 8. Cf. Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *Der Att. Process*, (1887) p. 314 sqq.

his client Euxenippus, who had been charged by Polyeuctus under the third provision of this act, namely of giving evil advice to the state in return for bribes given by enemies of the state.¹

A second measure taken to check the untoward activities and influence of the *ρήτορες* is found in a law relative to orderly conduct (*εὐκοσμία*) which Aeschines refers to Draco, Solon, and others of those times (1, 7 and 22 sqq.). At a very early period, then, were the *ρήτορες* placed under legal restraint. It is uncertain just what provisions were contained in this law, which apparently was concerned with parliamentary procedure and the control of debate,² but it is obvious from statements made by Aeschines (1, 23 and 3, 2) that the oldest citizens, namely those over fifty years of age, were entitled to speak first in the Assembly and then the debate was thrown open to the whole house. It was hoped thereby that the men of ripest experience might give the sagest counsel and thus direct the policies of the state. But from the vain wish that Aeschines utters (3, 2) it is to be inferred that the law in his time had become a dead letter: in fact, no law nor official, he declares (3, 4), could restrain the *ἀκοσμία* of these politicians.

A third restrictive measure directed against the *ρήτορες* is the *ἐπαγγελία δοκιμασίας*, a summons, served publicly upon the *ρήτωρ*, to appear at a *δοκιμασία ρητόρων*, that is, an investigation of his right to appear as a *ρήτωρ*.³ The chief source of information about this process is contained in a speech delivered by Aeschines against Timarchus, in which the latter is charged with disgraceful offences which would subject him to *ἀτιμία*.⁴ The process was apparently served in the Assembly⁵ and the case brought before a court, *ἀτιμία* being the penalty. Aeschines (1, 28 sqq.) mentions four provisions of this law covering the various offences which disqualified a *ρήτωρ* from speaking publicly. These provisions are: (1) τὸν

¹ This oration is a *locus classicus* for the subject. For pertinent passages, cf. §§ 1, 4, 8 sq., 27, 29, 36. Cf. W. W. Goodwin, *Demosthenes Against Midias* (1906), p. 151 sqq.

² For the spurious law, cf. Aeschin. 1, 35.

³ Lycurgus *Frag.* 24.

⁴ The author of the Pseudo-Xenophontean *Polity of the Athenians* (3 13) had said that *ἀτιμία* was visited upon one for *μηδὲ λέγειν τὰ δίκαια*.

⁵ Aeschin. 1, 81.

πατέρα τύπτων ἢ τὴν μητέρα, ἢ μὴ τρέφων, ἢ μὴ παρέχων οἴκησιν, (2) τὰς στρατείας μὴ ἐστρατευμένος, ὅσαι ἂν αὐτῷ προσταχθῶσιν, ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβεβληκώς, (3) πεπορνευμένος ἢ ἡταιρηκώς, (4) τὰ πατρῷα κατεδηδοκώς, ἢ ὧν ἂν κληρονόμος γένηται. For violating any provision of this law an action¹ could be brought against a ῥήτωρ by his enemy.²

Finally, the politicians were guilty of excesses not only against the laws and the state but also against the people from whose ranks they had sprung. Wealth quickly and unjustly earned made them unmindful and contemptuous of their fellow-citizens.³ In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (367) the chorus bid the ῥήτωρ, who nibbled away the poet's pay because he had been lampooned in the comedies, to keep aloof from their dance. Similar charges of unjust treatment are not infrequently found in the orators, who like to point to themselves as the champions of the oppressed, the spokesmen of law and order. Two significant and illustrative passages are provided by the twenty-fourth oration of Demosthenes and by the speech of Isocrates *On Peace*. The former accuses the politicians (§§ 124 sqq.) of treating the people with contumely, of subverting laws of Solon, and of imprisoning when in office private individuals (§§ 142 sqq.). The latter charges them amongst other things with reducing many citizens to want and amassing riches by excluding these citizens from their patrimonies (§§ 124 sqq. and 129 sq.). Indeed the predatory disposition of the politicians is the burden of many a complaint.⁴

Such then is the indictment of the politicians as preferred by Aristophanes and others of the time, and what he has to say about the ῥήτορες may be applied to that minor character in the *Birds*, the ψηφισματοπώλης. For the picture that the comic poet presents in his plays is by and large that drawn by the orators, philosophers, and historians of the fourth century.

¹ ῥητορικὴ γράφή. Cf. Harpocration *s.v.*

² For the δοκιμασία, see Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *Der Att. Process* (1887), p. 248; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Ency.* 5¹, 1272; and Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. s.v.*

³ Cf. Ar. *Plut.* 569 and Dem. 24, 123-124.

⁴ Cf. Aeschin. 3, 233; Dem. 21, 189; [Dem.] 25, 40; Isocr. *De Pace* 26; Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 31.

YOUNG VIRGIL'S POETRY

By EDWARD KENNARD RAND

VIRGIL was born a poet but he was also made. As with most writers whose works have lasted, his genius found expression in a thoroughly harmonious form only after varied experiments in alien fields. Epic was his goal. His temperament as revealed in his mature productions is imperial and Augustan. But Virgil started, naturally, with the literary fashions which prevailed when he began to write. Catullus and Calvus were the popular poets of the day. Their themes were largely those of their Greek masters of the Alexandrian age, who had practised mainly the smaller literary varieties — mime, pastoral, elegy, and epigram. They had maintained drama in a new and important species of comedy, but tragedy had virtually disappeared. Epic either had dwindled into short narrative poems, "epyllia," or else, if it retained its length, had submitted in spirit to the pervasive influence of erotic elegy. The genius of Catullus lifted his work high above his models; however we technically class him, for sheer lyric intensity he is the peer of Sappho or of Burns. But his craftsmanship is Alexandrian. In the earlier Republican period, national desires had found expression, however imperfectly, in epic and tragedy, the forms which were best suited to the Roman temperament, and which the writers of the day, Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, found lacking in contemporary Greek literature. They turned to the older authors for their vital needs. Nothing could better show, however much they depended on Greek forms, the individuality and sincerity of their effort to create a national and Roman literature. Virgil's ambition, developing slowly at first in an alien atmosphere, was eventually the same.

The record of our poet's progress from Alexandrian to Augustan, — a more pleasurable history to follow than Milton's transformation from Elizabethan to Puritan — is partly displayed in the ascent from *Bucolics* to *Georgics* to *Aeneid*. It may be more minutely traced if we may regard as genuine certain of the minor poems attributed to him.

The question of their genuineness has of late been hotly argued. Once generally accepted — though arousing occasional doubt even in mediæval minds — they fell easy prey to the higher critics of the nineteenth century; the little poems were unworthy of the author of the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*, and were therefore not his. Gudeman, in his *Latin Literature of the Empire*,¹ declares that their “spuriousness is established by incontrovertible proofs.” Munro, speaking of the *Aetna*,² remarks, “As it has manifestly no claim whatever, less even than the *culex* or *ciris* to be his work, I need not controvert what none will now maintain.” These were typical utterances of the last century.

As the new century came in, Franz Skutsch published a little work entitled *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (1901), as a result of which the supposedly dead issue became very much alive. Skutsch maintained, — uncontrovertibly, I believe, — that the *Ciris*, which is full of the phrasings of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, is not a later imitation of that poem, but a precursor. It belongs in type and atmosphere with the epyllia of Catullus’s day. It is Virgil who imitates the author of the *Ciris*. That author, Skutsch reasoned, — this time, I believe, not incontrovertibly — was Virgil’s intimate friend and brother poet, Cornelius Gallus. Skutsch also argued for the early date, if not for the genuineness of the *Culex*. He was vigorously attacked, particularly by Leo,³ but whether or no all details of his argument were accepted, the number of those who would admit some, at least, of the disputed works into the Virgilian canon has constantly been on the increase. We may measure the change in sentiment by comparing the opinion of Schanz,⁴ who regards as Virgilian only four or five of the short poems of the *Catalepton*, with that of Vollmer, the editor of the minor works in his revision of Baehrens’ *Poetae Latini Minores*,⁵ who finds no reason for doubting the genuineness of any of the poems included in the ancient account of Virgil’s writings. A compromise between the two extreme views is offered by Mackail, who, as an eminent literary critic

¹ II (1899), 1.

² H. A. J. Munro, *Aetna, revised*, etc., Cambridge, Eng., 1867, p. 32.

³ *Hermes*, xxxvii, 14 ff.; xlii, 35 ff.

⁴ *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* (1899²), pp. 62 ff.

⁵ I (1910); also *Sitzungsber. der bayer. Akad.* (1907), 335 ff.; *Heft* 11 (1908).

and admirer of Virgil, does not desire to have inferior matter palmed off on his poet, yet who, as a reasonable man cannot resist the evidence recently adduced for the genuineness of the *Appendix Vergiliana*. Mackail, agreeing heartily with the feeling of the last century that the poems in general cannot be ascribed to Virgil, puts them in the realm of Virgilianism.¹ Virgil was one of a group of brother-poets, who like Sidney and Spenser, Wordsworth and Coleridge, collaborated. This convenient explanation allows us to claim for Virgil as many and as much of the minor poems as we can stand.

Now this long debate is nothing new. One can breathe a truly modern air of controversy if one turns to a work published in the year of the Independence of America by that excellent Dutch scholar, Johannes Schrader.² Skutsch's theory of the authorship of the *Ciris* was going the rounds even then. But even then it was no new thing. Hubert van Giffen (Gifanius) in the sixteenth century had first, it seems,³ tracked Gallus to his lair, and Caspar Barth and Friedrich Taubmann in the seventeenth, Fontanini in the eighteenth, had passed on the torch of his discovery, which Johann Friedrich Voss caught up not long after Schrader wrote. Schrader says pithily of Fontanini: *equidem doleo virum doctum magno conatu magnas nugas dixisse*. He gives an excellent review of the problem of the *Ciris*, bringing up nearly all the points that are made nowadays, except for

¹ *Class. Rev.*, xxii (1908), 65 ff.; *Lectures on Poetry*, London (1911), pp. 48 ff.

² *Liber Emendationum*, Leouardiae (1776), pp. 31 ff.

³ Schrader quotes the words of Barth: *Obertus Gifanius odoratus est ex sexta Ecloga Maronis poemation, quod Ceiris nomine Virgilio adscribitur, ad Cornelium Gallum pertinere posse*. Skutsch, pp. 62, 136 ff., after much search, could not find any expression of the new idea in the works of Gifanius. In his famous edition of Lucretius, 1566, Gifanius attributes *Ciris* to Virgil, nor is any change made in the second edition of this work in 1595. Skutsch concluded, therefore, that Gifanius came upon the idea late in life, and that it was orally transmitted to his pupils. Barth (*Advers.* 3, 21) and Taubmann (*Virgilii Opera*, 1618, on *Ecl.* 6, 74) seem to be independent witnesses. Fontanini, the main source for Schrader, evidently had not read any statement in Gifanius, for his words are (Justus Fontaninus, *Historia Literaria Aquilejensis*, 1742, p. 32): *Fredericus Taubmannus ad Eclogam X (sic!) inter summi poetae opera ab se illustrata, & edita . . . & Barthius . . . testes mihi sunt Obertum Gifanium primum omnium olfecisse etc.* Fontanini, writing the history of Aquileia, claims Gallus for Friaul rather than Fréjus, devotes a plump chapter to him, and is only too glad to add *Ciris* to the string of his achievements.

scientific statistics on metrical and stylistic matters and the minute accounts of the tradition of the manuscripts that we owe to the school of Traube. I cannot pretend to offer a startling array of new facts in the present paper; my desire, like Schrader's, is to return to a once generally accepted tradition.

I

The starting-point of investigation should be the ancient external evidence on the question. Too often it has been the critic's reverence for Virgil, or rather for of his own definition of what Virgil's poetry must have been. This external evidence is furnished in the life of the poet. Donatus, who, as is generally agreed,¹ is drawing from Suetonius, thus describes young Virgil's earliest work.²

Poeticam puer adhuc auspicatus in Ballistam ludi magistrum ob infamiam latrociniorum coopertum lapidibus distichon fecit:

monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;
nocte die tutum carpe viator iter.

deinde catalepton (catalecton *codd.*) et priapea et epigrammata et diras, item cirim et culicem, cum esset annorum XVI (XXVI *Scaliger, Brummer*). cuius materia talis est: (there follows a brief summary of the *Culex*, ending with the final distich of the poem preserved to us). scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur Aetnam. Mox cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad bucolica transiit.

Servius makes substantially the same statement.³ After giving the distich on Ballista, he adds:

Scripsit etiam septem sive octo libros hos: Cirin Aetnam Culicem Priapeia Catalecton (*sic codd.*) Epigrammata Copam Diras.

The only other important notice in the material published by Brummer is in the *vita* compiled by Philargyrius,⁴ who, according to the best manuscript, has the correct form *Catalepton*.

There are two items of difference in the lists of Donatus and Servius. The first is that whereas the former expresses a doubt about

¹ See Sommer, *De P. Vergilii Maronis Catalepton Carminibus*, Halle, 1910, p. 19. He refers to Koortge, *Dissert. Philolog. Halens.* xiv, (1901), 189 ff.

² *Vitae Vergilianae. Recensuit Iacobus Brummer*, Leipzig (1912), p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

the *Aetna*, Servius puts it near the head of the list. Yet we must observe that the doubt is not directly stated as that of Donatus himself; otherwise he would have said something like *dicitur autem etiam Aetnam scripsisse de quo tamen carmine ambigendum est*.

Further, the words *etiam de qua ambigitur* are omitted in the Sangallensis 862 s. X (= G), one of the most important codices of the *Vita*, while in the Bernensis 172 s. IX-X (= B), the clause *de qua ambigitur* follows *Aetnam* (aetham B), with marks for transposition inserted, and in the Parisinus 7930 s. XI (= E) the clause has been shifted to the same place, without the addition of the signs of transposition. As Brummer has made clear,¹ the manuscripts of the *Vita* spring from one ancestral codex² (I will call it X) in two lines of succession (Y and Z). G is the only ancient representative of Z; E and B are on different offshoots of the Y branch. It looks, therefore, as if the clause *de qua ambigitur* were written above the line in X, omitted in G and inserted now before and now after *Aetnam* in the Y manuscripts.

We now may note that both Y and Z show in various places the presence of interpolations and substitutions.³ These show the char-

¹ *Philologus*, lxxii (1913), 278 ff. See also his edition of *Vitae Vergilianae* (1912).

² The error *ut* for *ac* in l. 96 suggests that this archetype, X, was copied from a minuscule manuscript in which the open *a* appeared. The interchange of *v* and *b* (Carbilli l. 180) and that of *r* and *s* (Vipranus l. 180) occur. The first of these errors is frequent in copies of Spanish script, and both are characteristic of the Insular variety. These data, however, are in themselves insufficient to warrant a conclusion as to the locality in which the parent manuscript was written. There are various indications of another kind that the *Minor Poems* came into France from Ireland, where the study of Virgil flourished in the period preceding the Carolingian epoch. We need a special treatment of the part played by Insular scholars in the transmission and interpretation of the text of Virgil from the seventh through the ninth centuries. Brummer shows (*Philologus*, loc. cit. p. 289) that the *Vita Gudiana* I is connected with the school of John the Scot, who is cited in the *Vita*. I would add that the kind of introduction that John the Scot might himself have written is shown in Monacensis 18059 s. xii (see Thilo and Hagen's edition of Servius, p. lxxxv note). Lindsay has opened up a new field in his recent investigations of mediaeval glossaries. Following his clues, N. F. G. Dall (*Class. Quart.*, xii (1918), 171 ff.) finds in the *Affatim* and Second Amplonian Glossaries evidence of an annotated edition of Virgil compiled in England in the seventh century.

³ For Y, see 16, 22, 165. Z, as represented by G, shows in general a more sober and reliable text. The errors of G, though often serious, are due to scribal blunders

acter of the annotations with which X was apparently provided. Some scholar who used the life of Virgil in his classes accompanied his instruction, in the mediaeval manner, with running comments, now suggesting a synonym, now paraphrasing a clause or sentence, now adding a bit of information, or misinformation, as in the remark on the genuineness of the *Aetna*. What his source was in the present case, we have no means of knowing. While I would not deny the possibility that the clause *de qua ambigitur* is part of the original text, that G independently omitted¹ and B and E independently transposed, it is more probable, I believe, that we can trace this doubting about *Aetna* no farther back than to the authority of an earlier scholiast. Hagen was justified, therefore, in bracketing the words.²

Further, it has been observed³ that Servius in commenting on Virgil's description of the volcano in the third *Aeneid*,⁴ gives an admirable little sketch of the argument of our poem, citing Virgil without question as its author; *secundum Aetnam Virgilii* are his words. Now, if it is true, as I have recently suggested,⁵ that Servius took his

and not unfortunate attempts at improvement; cf. 124, 134, 137. Nevertheless, interpolations have crept in, as in 88, 148, 159.

¹ E. Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae und Ihre antiken Quellen* (1911), p. 12, remarks that the omission of *etiam de qua ambigitur* in G is due to the similar endings (*scripsit . . . ambigitur*); if so, the latter word was written with the symbol for *ur* above the final *t*. This is not a certain case of such error. If, as I have assumed, the original text was *scripsit etiam Aetnam*, with *de qua ambigitur* as gloss, G, which has *etnam* for *aetnam*, could readily have omitted *etiam* before it.

² Besides Hagen, B. Kruczkiewicz, *Rosprawy i Sprawozdania* (Univ. of Cracow), X (1884), 147, regards the clause as an interpolation.

³ See J. Vessereau, *Aetna* (1905), p. xxxii.

⁴ *Aen.* 3, 578. Thilo and Hagen, *Servius*, i, 438

⁵ In *Class. Quart.*, X (1916), 158 ff. I had arrived at my results independently of Wessner, in the revision of Teuffel's *Römische Literaturgeschichte* (1913), to whom I gave the credit for prior discovery. Since then, my attention was called by my friend and former colleague, Professor A. S. Pease, to the fact that F. Lammert, in working on Donatus and St. Jerome, had come to the same conclusion (*Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses*, ix,¹ (1912), 41 ff.); he had found Barwick's investigations a good halfway mark (p. 421), just as I had. H. Philipp, *Die historisch-geographischen Quellen in den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla* (in W. Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Heft xxv (1912), 42 ff.) also working independently and also taking the same attitude to Barwick, arrived at the same result. The new view is approved and further corroborated by G. Ho-

comment almost bodily from Donatus, we may say that the latter no less than Servius spoke without qualification of Virgil's *Aetna* in his note on this passage. The complete note, in its opening part, runs thus:¹

571. TONAT AETNA RUINIS *sensus est: portus quidem securos nos faciebat, deest enim 'quidem,' sed Aetna terrebat. et causa huius incendii secundum Aetnam Vergilii haec est: sunt terrae desudantes sulphur . . .* The entire note, if I am right, belongs to Donatus. Servius excerpted the most important part, beginning with *causa huius*. Donatus, therefore, in this place at least, refers to the *Aetna* as an undoubted work of Virgil's.

The other point of difference between the two lists is that Donatus makes no mention of *Copa*. Baehrens did not hesitate to supply *et copam* between *cirim* and *et culicem*;² in a critical position like this, with similar syllables both preceding and following, the words might easily have fallen out in the archetype from which all our manuscripts are proved to have descended. Similarly, one of the Y manuscripts, M, omitted *et diras item cirim*. One curious reading of all the other manuscripts of the Y group seems not without significance in the present matter. They have *cirimus* for *cirim*. I would suggest that in X the words *et copam*, at first omitted by the scribe, were written by him in the margin, with a reference sign to them placed above the *m* in *cirim*. This sign, which Z neglected along with the marginal addition, seemed to the scribe of Y — or that of Y¹ — to be the compendium for *us*, a suprascript apostrophe, which various of the reference-symbols common in early minuscule manuscripts might well have suggested. He accordingly wrote out the supposed word, *cirimus*, which appears in the manuscripts that derive from his copy.

meyer, *De Scholiis Vergilianis Isidori Fontibus* (1913), p. 84. G. Funaioli, one of the foremost experts on Virgilian scholia, refers (in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, xxi (1915), 41) to Lammert's conclusion as "*una tese novissima, che in se nulla impedisce di accettare e per cui invece militano parecchi argomenti.*" Later (p. 81) he speaks a bit more doubtfully. The question will be settled, I hope, in the dissertation to which I referred in my article and which, held up by the war, will not be much longer delayed.

¹ Thilo and Hagen, *op. cit.*, i, 438.

² *Poetae Latini Minores*, ii (1880), 4. See Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Finally, if we may again appeal to the view that Donatus is the immediate source of Servius, the inclusion of *Copa* in the latter's list makes it probable that it existed in the former.

Another peculiarity of Servius is that he is uncertain of the exact number of the minor poems; "*septem sive octo*," he says. Some scholars see in this remark an allusion to the disputed authorship of the *Aetna*,¹ others to that of the *Copa*. It is most probable, however, that Servius was puzzled by the title *Epigrammata*. According to Vollmer,² Virgil wrote a collection of epigrammata, which now is lost. Other scholars have with better reason regarded the term as merely another title for *Catalepton*, or better still, the title of one of the component parts of the *Catalepton*. Donatus's phrase should thus be punctuated, "*deinde catalepton (et priapeia et epigrammata)*." This is accurate enough description of the poems in the *Catalepton* outside the *Priapea*; indeed one of them, (4, 9) is cited by the grammarian Marius Victorinus³ as *Vergilius iambico epigrammate*. Quintilian, after quoting *Catalepton* 2, adds: *Nec minus noto Sallustius epigrammate incessitur*, from which it is reasonable to infer that Quintilian thought of the poem from the *Catalepton* also as an epigram.⁴ Donatus, therefore, makes a correct statement, which we need only to punctuate to understand. Servius, not understanding, and rearranging the titles in the wrong order, found eight, with two of them, *Catalepton* and *Epigrammata*, fitting the same collection of short poems. He evidently concluded that either these were alternative titles (there being seven works in all) or one of the works was lost (there being eight in all).

We may be reasonably sure, therefore, that in Suetonius's time there was current a collection of six minor poems ascribed to Virgil — *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Copa*, *Aetna*, *Dirae*, *Catalepton* (*Priapea* and *Epigrammata*). In the case of *Culex*, *Copa*, and some of the pieces of *Catalepton*, there is other external testimony in the shape of citations in Martial, Lucan, Statius, and other writers of the empire.⁵ The Vir-

¹ For a résumé of opinions see de Gubernatis in *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione*, xxxviii (1910), 205. To this add Sommer's remarks, *op. cit.* p. 19.

² See *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 340.

³ *Grammatici Latini*, 6, 137 (K).

⁴ *Inst. Or.* 8, 3, 29.

⁵ Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1, 4,

gilian authorship is further attested by the manuscripts of all the poems on the list. The titles *Priapea* and *Epigrammata* do not appear, but the title *Catalepton* precedes the *Priapea* as it naturally would if meant to include both it and the epigrams.¹ Not all the poems have come down by the same line of tradition. The text is sadly corrupted in many places, especially in *Ciris* and *Aetna*. But the facts of the manuscript tradition, so Vollmer, who of all men has studied it most thoroughly,² declares, point to the existence of an ancient codex of Virgil, in which *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* were preceded by the six minor poems; *Aetna* was among them, whether or not it was designated as doubtful. A few works of other poets were also included, not necessarily because the compiler ascribed them to Virgil, but because he found their contents appropriate. Thus *Lydia* was added to *Dirae* inasmuch as the name of the shepherdess is the same; the *Moretum* gives a description of country-life somewhat like that in the *Georgics*; the *Elegiae in Maecenatem* commemorate Virgil's great patron. In the course of time, scribes naturally put Virgilian titles on all these works. Thus a manuscript, now lost, but mentioned in a catalogue of the books at Murbach compiled c. 850, formed one of four volumes, the others containing *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, while it included *Dirae*, *Culex*, *Aetna*, *Copa*, *Maecenas*, *Ciris*, *Catalepton*, *Priapea* and *Moretum*.³ Other spurious affairs then gathered about the collection, particularly the poems *De Viro Bono*, *Est et Non* and *De Rosis Nascentibus*, of which the first two certainly and the third probably were written by Ausonius in the fourth century.⁴ Mediaeval

¹ Vollmer has to support his theory by arbitrarily assuming, as Ellis in his edition also does, that the title *Catalepton*, originally standing before the second part of the collection, "*casu migravit ante Priapea*." See his edition, pp. 127, 130. Brit, *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils* (1910), pp. 2 ff., has an excellent discussion of this matter. So Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f. He well disposes of Leo's view that the *Epigrammata* are the miscellaneous verselets quoted and attributed to Virgil in the enlarged form of the *Vita* . . . *Nocte pluit tota*, etc. (Riese, *Anthol. Lat.* Nos. 256-263).

² For a summary statement, see his edition, pp. 3 f. See also below, p. 155.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4. H. Bloch, *Strassburger Festschrift zur 46ten Versammlung der Philologen und Schulmänner* (1901), 257 ff.

⁴ Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 229, 2. The latest addition to this list is an epitaph of four verses on Julius Caesar, published by Hieronymus Geist from a Cambrai manuscript in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (1914), 1107.

anthologies exist, with extracts from various of the poems, and a special collection was made in Carolingian — or pre-Carolingian — times, containing *Culex*, *Dirae*, *Lydia*, *Copa*, *De Est et Non*, *De Institutione Viri Boni*, *De Rosis Nascentibus*, and *Moretum*. According to Vollmer,¹ the title preceding it, *P. Virgilii Iuvenalis Ludi Libellus*, pertains rather to the *Culex* than to the whole collection. He thinks that a monk of Fulda may have been the editor. We should also, I believe, consider the possibility of an earlier origin in England or Ireland.

The starting-point for the higher criticism of the *Minor Poems* should be the ancient list transmitted in Suetonius's biography of Virgil and backed up by statements of ancient authors and by the testimony of the manuscripts. This testimony, naturally, is not so strong as it is for Virgil's mature works, *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, which formed one of the staples of education in the later empire. But the line of tradition of the *Minor Poems* is quite as bright as is that of Catullus or of Tibullus or of Propertius. Instead, then, of creating from *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* a definition of what Virgil at all times must have been, and by that definition excluding the minor poems as unworthy of him, we should accept the ancient statement and in the light of it enlarge our understanding of Virgilian qualities, thankful for the opportunity of seeing his genius mount from stage to stage. This, at any rate, is my mode of approach, and had been, I may say, even before the appearance of Skutsch's article.² In the present paper, I shall not reckon much with minute analyses of Virgil's style and metre, though I shall not consciously neglect any recent article that offers apparent evidence against the genuineness of the *Minor Poems*. Such studies are useful, nay indispensable; but they must be used with exceeding caution in determining questions of authorship. Works of short compass that by hypothesis come from the unformed period of youth when the poet was consciously assuming different attitudes and cultivating different styles ought not always to

¹ *P. L. M.* i, p. 13.

² At that time, it seemed to me that *Culex*, *Copa* and most of the *Catalepton* were Virgil's. Vollmer's articles induced me to add *Ciris*, *Dirae*, without the *Lydia*, and the rest of the *Catalepton*. On subsequent reflection, I could find no valid argument against admitting *Aetna*. I doubt not that many a scholar has gone through a similar experience.

conform to habits later established.¹ Some similarity we have a right to demand, but the presence of diversities is no certain proof of spuriousness. At what point the element of diversity becomes a deciding factor is a difficult matter to determine. My method is frankly deductive. Accepting the ancient testimony as true, and throwing on the adversary the burden of proof, I seek to interpret in a general and cursory way, the significance of the minor poems in what I take to be their chronological sequence. Unless we arrive at results against which good taste and common sense — our ultimate court of appeal — instinctively rebel, we may regard the external testimony as further supported by the contents of the poems. Once more, this attitude is nothing new. It was taken long before the present controversy by one of the most competent critics of the period of Latin literature into which Virgil was born, August Ferdinand Naeke.² And though Naeke is led to divergent results, his starting-point is that of Schrader.

II

Two of Virgil's poems are school-boy affairs. One is an epigram, in the form of an epitaph, on the robber Ballista, the keeper of a school, presumably of gladiators, whom his pupils stoned to death.

Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;
nocte die tutum carpe viator iter.

This distich offers the higher critic small matter for argument. Virgil's reputation is not damaged if we accept the verses as genuine.

¹ I agree thoroughly with de Gubernatis, *loc. cit.* (above, p. 110), p. 220: *Prima di dichiarare apocrifi carmi come Ciri, Copa, Catalepton (Epigrammata), Dirae, Moretum, un filologo deve portare ragioni sicure e convincenti e non basarsi su impressioni soggettive o statistiche grammaticali e metriche interpretate arbitrariamente.*

² *Carmina Valerii Catonis. Cum Augusti Ferdinandi Naekii Annotationibus. Accedunt eiusdem Naekii . . . Dissertationes IV. Cura Ludovici Schopeni.* Bonnae 1847, p. 221: Virgilium praeter tria opera maiora . . . alia scripsisse, minora, tam per se probabile est, ut nihil ei, qui ita factum esse contenderit, sed contrarium ei, qui factum esse neget, probandum sit. . . . Inter minora carmina, quae tribuuntur Vergilio, unum et alterum tam bona auctoritate tribuuntur, et ab idoneis testibus comprobantur, ut etiam alia, cum illis edi solita, nisi per se Vergilio sint indigna, pro Virgilianis haberi possint. Naeke's ideas on the minor poems in general and *Dirae* in particular had taken shape at least as early as 1828. See Schopen's preface, p. v.

The other school-boy poem is

CULEX

The ascription of *Culex* to Virgil occurs in manuscripts as early as the ninth century,¹ and the existence of a poem called *Culex* and attributed to Virgil is attested by Lucan, Statius, and Martial in the first century and by the grammarian Nonius Marcellus, who is using some earlier authority, in the fourth.² Indeed, there is ground for believing that Ovid, who apparently imitates the poem preserved to us, regarded it as Virgil's.³ In recent years, the tendency to accept the genuineness of the present poem has gathered strength.⁴ Accord-

¹ One of the certain proofs that all the manuscripts of *Culex* descend from a common ancestor is conspicuous in v. 27, where the scribe of the ancient codex, after writing *ponitque*, carelessly caught at *namque* in the line above, and finished with the rest of that line, which he had just written, instead of giving us the last half of v. 27; hence the lacuna in all the MSS.

² Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1.

³ See C. Plésent, *Le Culex. Étude sur l'Alexandrinisme latin*. (1910), pp. 33, 119 ff.

⁴ It is accepted, e. g., by Vollmer in the work mentioned above, p. 2, also by J. G. Phillimore, *Class. Phil.* v (1910), 418 ff.; E. S. Jackson, *Class. Quarterly*, v (1911), 163 ff.; G. D. Butcher, *Ibid.*, viii (1914), 128 ff.; R. S. Conway, in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1915), pp. 4, 11. J. W. Mackail, who in his *Latin Literature* (1895), p. 104, said that the *Culex* is the work of a clever imitator of Virgil, now (*Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 68 ff.) declares that Virgil wrote it in the period of his *Georgics*, though it lacks the finishing touches, — I fear that our present poem needs more than finishing touches to transform it to the art of the *Georgics*. The *Culex*, if Virgil's, was written at an earlier stage. Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 16 ff., and Naeke, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff., present good reasons for accepting the work as genuine. The latter quotes remarks in the same vein by Johannes Andreas de Buxis, the editor of the *princeps* in 1469.

On the other side, the most important discussions that I have seen are: C. Plésent, *op. cit.*; also *Le Culex. Poème pseudo-Virgilien. Ed. critique et explicative*, Paris, 1910. Plésent believes that Virgil wrote a poem on the same subject as that of our poem, that it was lost and the present affair forged ("une falsification préméditée," p. 37 of the latter work) and substituted in the *corpus* of Virgil's works before the time of Ovid; the date of the poem on this theory is c. 19 B.C. Needless to say, the assumption of "*falsifications préméditées*" is not the most commendable method of solving literary problems.

Birt, in his *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils (Erklärung des Catalepton)*, p. 9, declares against the genuineness of the poem on metrical and stylistic grounds and because of its "general silliness." One of Birt's pupils pronounced on the metre

ing to the ancient biographer, *Culex* is the work of a boy of sixteen; we do not need with Scaliger and some modern scholars to change "sixteen" to "twenty-six," just because Statius extravagantly compliments Lucan, who died at twenty-six, for achieving great things in poetry "before the age of Virgil's *Culex*." ¹

The poet dedicates his work to a certain Octavius,² whom we shall perhaps meet in later poems, and apologizes for offering him a *jeu d'esprit*; there will come a time when he will write of his friend in a loftier strain. This prophetic note, with its commingling of modesty

(O. Braum, *De monosyllabis ante caes.*, Marburg, 1906) and another on the style (W. Holtschmidt, *De Culicis Carminis Sermonem et de Tempore quo scriptum sit*, Marburg, 1913).

¹ The "emendation" is accepted by Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1, and by Brummer in his text of the *Vita*. I will not deny that the archetype of all the manuscripts might have contained the easy error of XVI for XXVI; similar errors are committed by M (XVII) and Z (XV). But the supposition is unnecessary, and is dealt a *coup de grace* by W. B. Anderson in *Class. Quarterly*, x (1916), 225 ff. Anderson interprets the words of Statius (*Silvae*, 2, 7, 74) to mean: "Thou shalt be singing of these themes (the events of the Civil War) even at the dawn of thy young manhood, before the age at which Maro wrote the *Culex*." He adds; "It is possible that the *Wunderkind* composed some parts of the poem about the age of fifteen, and it is possible also that when he made the famous reference to the *Culex* he believed that Virgil had written that work at the age of sixteen."

² I cannot believe that the Octavius addressed is the later Octavianus Caesar. There is no external evidence that Virgil and Octavius were acquainted at the time. However, various scholars identify Octavius of the poem with the later Octavian. So Skutsch (who cannot quite ascribe the poem to Virgil), *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, 131 ff.; Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), 351. Ward Fowler (*Classical Review*, xxviii (1914), 119) is further disposed to believe that the lads met in the year 50 when Julius Caesar was in Cisalpine Gaul, and that the dedication to the poem was composed in this year. Conway, *The Youth of Virgil* (1915), 20 ff., enthusiastically seconding this suggestion, paints a pretty picture of "the big boy Virgil taking the little boy Octavius round the Mantuan farm." Now there is no evidence whatever either that Octavius joined his uncle Caesar in 50, or that Virgil's father was in a position to invite the nephew of the great general to his house. If we suppose, as we are bound to do until other evidence appears, that the dedication is of a piece with the rest of the poem, it was written, according to the statement of the ancient biographer, in 54 B.C. But there is no likelihood that young Octavius, aged nine, joined Caesar near Mantua in that year. After the second invasion of Britain, Caesar was kept the entire time in Transalpine Gaul, owing to uprisings among the tribes. Those who regard the *Culex* as a forgery can readily say that its author, writing under the spell of Virgil's later works and the later career of

and confidence, is familiar to readers of Virgil; it appears again at the beginning of the eighth *Eclogue* and the third *Georgic*. Octavius is still very youthful, though his youth inspires respect; "worshipful Octavius," "holy lad," the poet calls him. Phoebus and Pales, pastoral deities, are invoked, for though the spirit of the little poem is mock-epic, its contents are largely pastoral. The verse shall not tell of gods and giants or battles of Persians and Greeks. Like Virgil in the *Georgics*, our author turns from high themes to something nearer at hand.¹ He will tell the story of shepherd who drives his flocks afield at dawn and while the goats are cropping the grass, hanging from cliffs and selecting, with a certain Epicurean discrimination, the younger and tenderer bramble-shoots, soliloquizes, in a fashion recalling the second *Georgic*, on the pleasures of rural simplicity. At noon he retires with his herd to the shelter of a grove — some little grove about Mantua, which nevertheless is the home of the rustic gods and as awesome as the abode of Diana herself. The youthful, like the mature, Virgil, saw sacred presences in common scenes.

Fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestes
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.²

The grove was full of goodly trees; there were plane and lotus, alder and almond, oak, pine, cypress, beech, poplar, with clinging vines of ivy and myrtle. The songs of birds, mingling with the plashing of a little stream, made agreeable music for those who bathed in its waters. This is purely Virgilian scenery, not painted from life, with regard for the appropriate fauna and flora, but including, besides real details, literary reminiscence and anything that the poet can use in creating an Arcadian fairyland. The incongruous elements are combined in the *Eclogues* by the magic of illusion into a pleasant harmony. Here they lack the touch of magic and remain extravagant. With the men-

Augustus, betrays himself by a clumsy anachronism. We are driven, I believe, to this alternative: either the poem is a forgery, or the Octavius mentioned is not Octavianus Caesar. There are three contemporary Octavii — or possibly, three different references to the same Octavius. For a discussion of these passages, see below, pp. 136 ff.

¹ Cf. *Georg.* 3 *init.* On this τόπος of Greek and Latin verse, apparently of Alexandrian origin, see Jackson, *Molle Atque Facetum* in *H. S. C. P.*, xxv (1914), 123.

² *Georg.* 2, 493 f., and 3, 331-334.

tion of each tree, the story of its metamorphosis is intruded, much more to the poet's than the reader's delight. Perhaps the effect is intentionally somnolent. The shepherd, at any rate, goes to sleep. While he is enjoying his siesta, a huge spotted snake, whom readers of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* well know,¹ glides up and, angry that his wonted bed is preoccupied, is about to make trouble for the intruder, when a little gnat wakes the shepherd by stinging him on the forehead. The shepherd, starting in pain, slays his benefactor. Then, seeing the greater peril, still drowsy and not so frightened as he normally would have been, he tears a bough from the tree and crushes the serpent. That night the gnat comes to the shepherd in a vision, even as Patroclus appears to Achilles in the *Iliad*,² and tells, at wearisome length, the story of his adventures in the world below. Next morning, the shepherd, touched with pity, builds a burial-mound for his little friend, heaps it with enough flowers to fill a seedman's catalogue and carves an epitaph:

Parve culex pecudum custos tibi tale merenti
funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit.

For a lad of sixteen, our poet has scored a success, not to say a triumph.³ He has written an epyllion of the heroic rather than the romantic type,⁴ in which diverse elements are blended. The exalted

¹ E. g., *Aen.* 5, 84 ff. and especially *Georg.* 3, 426 ff., where a shepherd is enjoined to slay a snake in the fashion described in the *Culex*. On the differences between the description in the *Culex* and those in the later poems, and on the Greek models, see Leo's note in his edition, pp. 56 ff. C. Plésent, *Le Culex, Étude*, etc., gives an even fuller treatment (pp. 97 ff.). He well remarks (p. 100): *il semble d'ailleurs que le morceau du Culex ait fait école à son tour. Ovide, Stace, Claudien en reproduisent de nombreux traits*. Special attention, I think, should be called to the very close connection between Ovid, *Met.* 3, 32 ff. and the present passage. The outline and many of the details (e. g., cf. v. 167 with *Met.* 3, 41 ff.) closely correspond; but Ovid has transformed raw material into orderly and brilliant art.

² 23, 62 ff.

³ Leo, who declares that he was attracted to the task of editing the poem, not by its beauties but by its difficulties (see his edition, 1891, p. 21), has to admit that the design of the poem is "*lepidum*" (p. 17), and can compliment an individual verse (p. 37), or a description (p. 36).

⁴ See Jackson's excellent treatment of this theme in *The Latin Epyllion*, *H. S. C. P.*, xxiv (1913), 40 f.

treatment of humble actors and a humble theme — *angustis addere rebus honorem* —¹ is an essentially Virgilian undertaking. Pursuing this aim in all seriousness, Virgil later raised the pastoral to epic, creating a new literary species. He followed Lucretius in similarly transforming didactic poetry, though taking in the *Georgics* a subject less epic in character than that of the *De Rerum Natura*. The same endeavor treated playfully results in mock-heroic, as in the Battle of the Bees² and in the *Culex*. There are youthful infelicities, prolixities and lame verses in the present poem, — *Culicem flevrat ore rudi*, observes Martial —³ but the little parody is cleverly managed and has pleasant touches of humor, good observation, and a genuine, if immature, feeling for nature. The work is just what a country-boy with the spark of genius and a passion for reading might have written.

The lad is well-read. He knows his Homer, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,⁴ and his Hesiod; in the latter he discerns, with no little penetration, not a weary pessimist, such as Hesiod is sometimes portrayed, but a tranquil sage who has caught the secret of simple delights.⁵ He has also dipped into Greek tragedy and meditated on the divine vengeance that smites down human pride,⁶ and on the tragic interplay of fate and human wills. Fate brought about Eurydice's doom, and yet Orpheus deserved a share, perhaps the larger share, of the blame:

Sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis Orpheu.⁷

Young Virgil may have known, besides, Alexandrian poems on love and metamorphosis and journeys to the lower world. It is interesting to compare the Inferno here with that in the sixth *Aeneid*; none of the special inventions of that artful account, in which the theological

¹ *Georg.* 3, 290.

² *Ibid.*, 4, 66 ff.

³ 8, 56, 20.

⁴ See 304 ff. for the *Iliad* and 328 ff. for the *Odyssey*.

⁵ V. 96: *aemulus Ascraeo pastor sibi quisque poetae | securam placido traducit pectore vitam*. See the writer's *Horatian Urbanity in Hesiod's Works and Days* in A. J. P., xxxii (1911), 165.

⁶ V. 339: *illa vices hominum testata est copia quondam, | ne quisquam propriae fortunae munere dives | iret ineffectus caelum super: omne propinquo frangitur invidiae telo decus*.

⁷ V. 292. Cf. *Ecl.* 8, 48: *crudelis tu quoque, mater: | crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille? | improbus ille puer; crudelis tu quoque, mater. Ciris* 133: *sed malus ille puer, quem nec sua flectere mater | iratum potuit. Aen.* 4, 412: *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!*

features are necessitated by the dramatic setting,¹ appear in the story of the gnat, who wanders about in the aimless fashion of a tourist. Surely an imitator writing after the *Aeneid* could not have been thus unaffected by Virgil's later plan.² Another Alexandrian earmark is the pastoral element, which is not, however, drawn from Theocritus.³ It has been suggested⁴ that the whole affair is nothing but a translation of some lost Greek work. I prefer to give Virgil the benefit of the doubt; John Stuart Mill had read at least an equal bulk of Greek literature at half the age. Besides, no Greek speaks so distinctly in this poem as does Virgil's own countryman and most immediate master, Lucretius, whose poem had appeared not long before. The pastoral passages in the *De Rerum Natura* and its splendid bursts of moral satire, in which senseless human conventions are matched with the quiet joys of nature, explain the serious part of the *Culex*, supply some of its phrases and excuse, in part, its tautologies and crudities of construction. Catullus is not so much in evidence. Perhaps the latter's poems had not yet been widely circulated; or perhaps the lad had not read them deeply.⁵

Among the rhetorical crudities obvious in the poem are the excessive or awkward use of the parenthesis⁶ and of anaphora⁷ — devices of

¹ Ellis introduces a bit of the Inferno of the *Aeneid* by reading (v. 233) *quem* (i. e., the gnat) *circa tristes densentur in ostia Poenae* (for *in omnia poenae*). The gnat mentions no limbo or mourning fields, and, unless Ellis is right, no clustering Abstractions about the gates of Hell. The legend of good women (v. 260) suggests the *campi lugentes* without the setting given to them in the *Aeneid*. The "Lake of Dis" is a novelty, unless *lacus* is merely a misnomer for the rivers of the underworld.

² Leo is so much impressed by the differences between the two accounts that he declares (*op. cit.*, p. 89): *nisi singula quaedam imitatore proderent, dubitari posset num huius carminis auctor Vergilianum novisset*. This state of affairs would be curious in a forgery; it is natural enough in a genuine and early work.

³ See Plésent, *Le Culex*, *Étude*, etc., p. 266: "Il ne se trouve pas un seul emprunt avéré à Theocrite ni aux autres poètes de son école."

⁴ See Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1.

⁵ As examples of possible reminiscences cf. v. 245 and Cat. 63, 12 (see below, note 7); vv. 413 f.: *tibi tale merenti funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit* and Cat. 64, 157: *talita qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita*.

⁶ There are about ten in the poem. Awkward are those in 136, 139, and especially awkward, if Vollmer's punctuation is right, is that in 170-174.

⁷ There are some twenty-four prominent cases. Among them should be reck-

which Virgil was also fond later, but which he employed with greater art and greater reserve.¹ Prolixity and tautology are far too frequent, though Lucretius could give the young poet authority enough for these defects.² A flagrant example of both vices occurs at the end of the poem. All that the poet has to say is that the shepherd, not forgetting his duty to the gnat, raised a circular hill of earth and covered it with a smooth marble stone. What he says is:³

Iam memor inceptum peragens sibi cura laborem
congestum cumulavit opus atque aggere multo
telluris tumulus formatum crevit in orbem.
quem circum lapidem levi de marmore formans
conserit, assiduae curae memor.

This is a kind of vicious circle of redundancy, ending where it began.⁴ For proluxity, the description immediately following could hardly be excelled. Here we find eighteen varieties of flowers that the shepherd has heaped on the tomb of the gnat. As in a Roman prayer, which avoids the possible neglect of some unknown god, an omnibus clause is added to include all the remaining flowers of spring. There is no attempt to diversify the description by arranging separate nosegays.

oned 245: †siblite puellae, | ite, quibus taedas accendit tristis Erinys. Whatever the text, the anaphora *ite . . . ite* (cf. *Ecl.* 1, 71; 7, 44; 10, 77, etc.) is certain. Editors have curiously avoided Voss's conjecture, *simul ite*. It is adopted by Wetmore, in his excellent *Index Verborum Vergilianus*, 1911, and supported by Catullus 63, 12: Agite *ite* ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora *simul* | *simul ite*, Dindimenae dominae vaga pecora. The situation is virtually identical — the calling of a wild troupe to action. *Simul ite* is intensely emotional here as elsewhere in Catullus's poem (vv. 19, 27, 31). The present passage, therefore, affords another proof that all the manuscripts of the *Culex* derived in the early Middle Ages from one ancestor; the curious nature of the mistake here suggests an ancient or a peculiar script, or possibly an error of hearing, due to dictation to an amanuensis.

Lucretius contains splendid examples of anaphora, e. g., 5, 949: umori' fluenta | lubrica proluvie larga lavere umida saxa, | umida saxa, super viridi stillantia musco. Anaphora is also frequent in Catullus; e. g., 64, 19-21.

¹ There is at least one parenthesis in every *Eclogue* except the first.

² See Munro's index, s.v. "Tautology," though this is only a partial list. 3, 294 f.: *illis quibus acria corda | iracundaque mens facile effervescit in ira* may serve as example.

³ V. 394 ff.

⁴ Still, Virgil's *iacentem . . . iacebant* at the end of vv. 14 and 16 in *Ecl.* 6 is not much better than *formatum . . . formans* of vv. 396, 397 here.

The flowers follow one after the other, heralded no less than five times by *hic*, which thrice stands in the same position in the verse.

Contrast now the manner in which a similar motive is treated in the *Bucolics*. Again it is a shepherd offering his beloved a gift.¹ The passage contains virtually the same number of lines, and almost as many objects are specified; but its wealth of description is without confusion. Obvious anaphora is avoided, and has emotional value when it appears (*tibi — tibi*). Verbs and participles are sprinkled in with the nouns, to prevent the effect of a list. The flowers are not merely named; they form part of the action. The action is distributed by the introduction of other persons besides the shepherd himself. The offering is diversified by the presence of fruit among the flowers, by its distribution among different actors, and finally, by its personification and the use of the case of address.

The use of participles, particularly the present participle, is free, not to say excessive in the *Culex*; in his later works, Virgil retained his fondness for participles, but kept it within bounds. A special crudity is the combination of an adjective and an adjectival present participle, without a connective, modifying the same noun. Perhaps we should not call it a crudity, but rather a trait of style, for it is employed by Catullus and Lucretius. In the former we find a verse²

Saepe tibi studioso animo venante requirens
Carmina uti possem mittere Battiadae

in which, besides the use of adjective and participle in combination, there is a piling up of the idea of desire that Catullus wishes to emphasize, and does so with good effect despite the tautology; it is one wave surging through the verse, like Lucretius's³

hic temere incassum frustra mare saepe coortum.

Tautology appears with the combination of adjective and participle in Lucretius, as⁴

insequitur candens confestim lucidus aer,

¹ *Ecl.* 2, 45 ff.

² 116, 1. I agree with Ellis, against Merrill, that *studioso* should be construed with *animo*, not with *tibi*. See both editions *ad loc.* For other examples see the sixty-fourth poem, e. g., 87: *Suavis exspirans castus odores | lectulus.*

³ *Lucr.* 5, 1002; 2, 1059 f.

⁴ 4, 340. For an awkward juxtaposition of participles, see 6, 1260 ff.

a verse that somehow we had better not try to improve. In 1, 34-40, we have a splendid passage of seven lines, in which there are as many participles.

These and many other verses of Lucretius explain what we find in the *Culex*. Two striking examples occur at the beginning of the poem:

gloria perpetuom lucens, mansura per aevom (38)

and

tibi sospes
debita felices memoretur vita per annos,
grata bonis lucens (39)

and there are many others.¹ As in Lucretius, the construction appears in a passage flavored with tautology:

at volucres patulis residentes dulcia ramis
carmina per varios edunt resonantia cantus (146).

Now this free use of the participle in conjunction with adjectives is rare enough in the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. In the light of Catullus and Lucretius, we cannot call it merely the rude art of a youthful poet. But it went out of style, apparently through Virgil's own efforts. However, there is at least one place in his later poems in which he reverts to it, finding it useful for a special effect — the description of a rushing and hissing stream:

saxosusque sonans Hypanis Mysusque Caicus.²

But though the *Culex* is marred by infelicities,³ we commit a *petitio principii* by declaring them too bad for Virgil at the age of fifteen. We

¹ The adjective is combined with the present participle in 41; 49; 76; 120; 146 f.; 166; 195; 385; 394. In these examples, both adjective and participle are descriptive epithets. I do not include cases like 163 f., where the participle is narrative. Adjective and future participle: 20; 38; 362. Adjective and perfect passive participle: 70; 158 f.; 164; 213 f.; 240; 253; 267; 365. Two adjectives, perfect participle and present participle: 234 f. Gerundive and perfect passive participle; 260. Perfect passive participle and future participle; 113 f. Two adjectives: 237. Two perfect passive participles: 62 f.; 127 f. This feature of style deserves a new treatment. One would expect it in C. Eymer, *De Adpositorum apud Poetas Romanos Usu*, Marburg, 1905, but though he has a section on *De singulorum substantivorum cum binis adiectivis coniunctionibus*, he hardly broaches the matter.

² *Georg.* 4, 370. Servius, Philargyrius and later hands in two of the Bernenses prefer *saxosum*, but the weight of the tradition is against them.

³ This is the burden of Leo's argument against the genuineness of the *Culex*; *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.

are similarly presumptuous if we find that the stylistic divergences between the poem and the later works place it beyond the pale. An effort of this sort has been recently made by a pupil of Birt's, W. Holschmidt.¹ This writer considers in the present dissertation merely the use of verbs and adjectives. His data hardly justify his conclusions. For example, he has 311 entries under verb forms. He finds that 22 verbs are "*omnino aliena a Vergilio*."² Then there are 61 which Virgil has, but uses in a different sense; of these, 46 "*magnum praebent discrimen inter Vergilii et Culicis scriptoris elocutionem*." The remaining 15 may "possibly be defended." This looks like a damaging indictment. But to consider merely the most dangerous list of "*omnino aliena*," nine of the instances are found in Lucretius. These are *cubuerē*, *dubium sit*, *existat*, *praepandit*,³ *propulit*, *prosternit*, *prostravit*,⁴ *transcendat*,⁵ *tribuere*.⁶ It is natural that a sixteen-year old poet should adopt from his most important model certain phrases which he abandoned later. This is particularly true of prosaic expressions, like *dubium est* and *existere*. We note in this connection that eight more of the "un-Virgilian" verbs are found in Ciceronian and other contemporary prose: *aversari*, *causam dicere*, *obcaecaverat*, *comparat*,⁷ *conformare*, *iniunxit*, *inscendere*. This leaves an irreducible minimum of five entries (four words) which cannot be explained, so far as we know, by the environment of the young poet; they first appear in poetry written after 54 B.C. The words are: *Immoritur* (Horace, Ovid); *obstrepit* (Horace, Propertius); *refovebat*, *refoves* (Ovid); *letat* (Ovid).⁸ Supposing the *Culex* genuine, I must assume

¹ *De Culicis Carminis Sermone et de Tempore quo Scriptum sit*. Marburg Dissertation, 1913.

² P. 121.

³ V. 16. Note the reminiscence of Lucretius 5, 272; 6, 638 in v. 17.

⁴ V. 69. See Lucr. 2, 29 and below, pp. 124 ff. on the imitation of this passage by the author of the *Culex*.

⁵ V. 84. The direct model is Lucr. 3, 60.

⁶ V. 388. For exactly the same use see Lucr. 5, 869.

⁷ Two entries, once with the infinitive. *Parat* with the infinitive is Virgilian.

⁸ Note that in one of the two places in which Ovid uses *letare* (*Met.* 3, 55: *letataque corpora*), there is obvious imitation of the *Culex* in the immediate context. See above, p. 117, Note 1; and also cf. *Culex* 42 with *Met.* 3, 50.

that these words were first used by young Virgil and later fancied by his admirers Horace and Ovid, though not repeated by Virgil himself. Indeed, I should expect just such evidence as this to prove the genuineness of the piece. Virgil kept his vocabulary alive, as Dryden found,¹ by constant variation. A very easy form to invent, especially under urgency of the metre or the desire for assonance, is a new compound verb; three of our instances are of this kind. It is further true that Virgil sometimes never used again a word or form appearing in one of his earlier works. Looking merely at verbs compounded with *con*, we find *commaculare* in the *Bucolics*, but not elsewhere; *cogitare*, *collocare*, *colludere*, *compescere*, *comprehendere*, *concidere*, *conflare*, *confluere* in the *Georgics* but not elsewhere. This list would offer excellent material for proving the *Georgics* spurious on the basis of the vocabulary of the *Bucolics* and the *Aeneid*. Holtschmidt's data, which I have tested with some care, are not more significant elsewhere than in the present specimen. In brief, I find them of interest in proving the exact opposite of what he infers that they prove.

But to illustrate now what excellencies young Virgil had attained, and what lay before him still, I would invite the reader's attention to one of the best passages in the poem, the beginning of the shepherd's soliloquy on the joys of the country life.² The model for these lines is the famous passage at the beginning of the second book of Lucretius.³ Young Virgil indicates his source clearly enough by a few touches, but there is no palpable borrowing. He replaces specific description by typical examples.⁴ He recasts the whole passage in a more periodic style. The period is too long and inflated, but the construction as a whole is more stately and less casual than Lucretius's sentence. He has not, however, avoided the tautology which his great model had permitted.

¹ "Virgil, above all poets, had a stock, which I may call almost inexhaustible, of figurative, elegant, and sounding words. — (He) call'd upon me in every line for some new word, and I paid so long, that I was almost bankrupt; so that the latter end must needs be more burdensome than the beginning or the middle; and consequently, the *Twelfth Aeneid* cost me double the time of the *First* and *Second*." *Dedication of the Aeneis*, Cambridge edition, ed. G. R. Noyes, 1908, p. 518.

² Vv. 57 ff. Discussed by Miss E. S. Jackson, *op. cit.*, *C. Q.*, v (1911), p. 167.

³ 2, 14-39: o miseris hominum mentes, etc.

⁴ Cf. *Lucr.* 2, 24 f. and *Culex* 62, 67.

The passage is worked into its final form in the *Georgics*.¹ Here, as in the *Culex*, Virgil begins with an accusative of exclamation, to which is attached a dependent clause. The ensuing conditional clauses (*si non . . . nec . . . neque . . . nec*) are followed, just as in the *Culex*, by *at*,² the period ending, after the effective repetition of *at*, with *absunt*. In the earlier poem, there is similar anaphora of *si* in the protasis. As anaphora cannot well occur in both protasis and apodosis, Virgil restricts it, in the later passage, to the apodosis, thereby giving the end of the sentence greater emphasis. In the *Culex*, the period tapers off into a *cum* clause, in the manner of Lucretius. Both passages end with an impressive series of details, arranged in two sentences with anaphora of the demonstrative pronoun or pronominal adjective, *illic . . . per illos* in the *Georgics*; *atque illum . . . illi* in the *Culex*. In the *Georgics*, a full-fledged period caps the climax. But young Virgil has his eye on climax, too, and ends, if not periodically, yet with a swinging series of adjectives, participles, and nouns, distinguished by rich assonance and rapid movement.

In a way, the *Culex* marks a progress beyond the hexameters of Lucretius and the structure of his sentences. One notes — not everywhere, but here and there — a conscious effort to tighten the loose, to drop the superfluous, to arrange the unsymmetrical. The easy grace of Lucretius's verse

propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae³

in which the words drip on pleasantly to the end, is refashioned compactly into

rivum propter aquae viridi sub fronde latentem.⁴

¹ 2, 458 ff: o fortunatos nimium, etc.

² Vollmer should not spoil the Georgic effect by reading *a pectore* for *at pectore* in *Culex* 68. He is doubtless right in thinking *a pectore* the reading of the ancestor of all the manuscripts extant, but *at pectore* is an inevitable emendation. It was made by the author of the *Excerpta* in the eleventh century and later by the Italian humanists. Incidentally, I think that Vollmer places too high a value on the *Excerpta* as a first-hand source. Its good readings not found elsewhere might easily have been emendations, and it contains a number of violent changes such as are not infrequent in compilations of extracts. The compiler means not to produce a scholar's text of Virgil but to provide the reader with an easily intelligible anthology of maxims and purple patches.

³ 2, 30.

⁴ V. 390. The Lucretian model makes it certain that *latentem* agrees with *rivum*

Here the first word and the last lock the verse into a well-organized unit, in which the sense is kept in suspense. When Virgil repeated Lucretius's phrase — of which he was obviously fond — for a second time, in the *Bucolics*,¹ he likewise arranged the elements in climax, though of a different kind.

Where did young Virgil find a model for this orderly compactness? Possibly he had read Cicero's attempts at verse, which, however lacking in poetical intensity, could not help reflecting the sense of careful arrangement ingrained in the master of formal oratorical style. We do not need, however, to look for a pattern outside of Lucretius himself, outside of the passages in which he condescended to art.

Aenaeum genetrix, hominum divumque voluptas,
 alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
 quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis
 concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantium
 concipitur visitque exortum lumina solis:
 te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila caeli
 adventumque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus
 summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti
 placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum.

What could be more Virgilian than these lines, with their conscious suspense and careful climax? ² Cicero's comment on Lucretius is profoundly true (if left unemended) — *multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis*.³ Lucretius did not care about the rules. He was a poet *malgré lui*. He wished to drive home the true gospel in the most telling way, using poetry as a sugar-coating for the wholesome pill. But intense conviction, imagination at white heat, is bound to express itself at times with utter clarity and simplicity, with the effect of great art at which the poet had not primarily aimed — all of which Cicero says in "*tamen*."

(so Sillig, Forbiger and apparently Leo and Vollmer) and not with *locum* (Heyne, Ellis).

¹ *Ecl.* 8, 87: *propter aquae rivum viridi procumbit in ulva*.

² There is one detail that Virgil would not ordinarily have allowed — the elision in the fifth foot in v. 4.

³ *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 9, 3. Orelli with *multae etiam artis* and Bergk with *non multae tamen artis* do their best to make Cicero banal or egregiously wrong. For a careful discussion of this passage, see Litchfield in *H. S. C. P.*, xxiv (1913), 147 ff.

It was, then, to these passages of great and simple art to which young Virgil instinctively turned and which helped the development of his innate tendencies into a style.

That the passages from the *Culex* and the *Georgics* just discussed are related as model and imitation nobody would deny.¹ It is difficult to believe that the talented author of the *Culex* could have had before him the perfected reserve of Virgil's *Georgics*, to say nothing of the *Aeneid*, and yet kept on with the crude tautologies and participial constructions that we have noted. This poem precedes, not follows, the admitted works of Virgil. He turned to this, just as he always turned to his earlier works, sometimes to improve a first attempt, sometimes to borrow what he had done well enough the first time.²

Virgil's goal was epic. He had to struggle through a hostile literary environment before reaching it, but the signs of an epic temperament are apparent even in this his earliest work. A lad who spends his fancy on a mock-heroic may one day attempt the heroic; indeed he promises so to do.³ Moreover, certain passages, if they chanced to have come to us as fragments, might well seem portions of some lost poem of a seriously epic character. There is a description of a storm at sea, for instance, which for boyish workmanship is not unworthy of the vastly more epic storms in the *Aeneid*.⁴

All in all, the *Culex* gives us what we should expect to find in what the ancient biographer says it is, a poem composed by Virgil at the age of sixteen. It has the crudities of a first attempt and reflects the Alexandrian environment into which Virgil was born. The new impulses stirring in the poem are Lucretian moral earnestness and the promise of genius in the young poet himself.

¹ For another example of Virgil's later refashioning of motives less well executed in the *Culex* cf. vv. 294 ff. and *Georg.* 4, 489.

² See Miss Jackson's article and E. Albrecht, *Wiederholte Verse und Vertheile bei Vergil* in *Hermes*, xvi (1881), 393 ff.

³ Vv. 8 ff.

⁴ Vv. 344-52: comes erat . . . ac ruere in terras caeli fragor. Virgil uses the bucolic diaeresis with similar effect in his description of the thunder storm in *Georg.* 1, 331, save that it comes not at the end of the passage, as here, but with far greater appropriateness, several removes from the end. The pause marks a lightning-stroke, but one in the thick of the shower and not the final stroke.

III

CATALEPTON

If the *Culex* was written under the spell of Lucretius, the *Catalepton* attests a vigorously Catullan period in Virgil's career. His schooling, the ancient biographer informs us, took place first at Cremona, then, after he had assumed the *toga virilis* in his fifteenth year, at Milan, shortly after which time he came to Rome.¹ If the *Culex* was written in his sixteenth year, 54 B.C., he may well have come to the city in 52.² There he found himself in the world of Catullus. He may have already known, at Milan or at Mantua, something of the works of the poet who had made North Italy famous,³ but now he entered the inner circle of admirers,

nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.⁴

The title *Κατὰ Λεπτόν*, used by Alexandrian writers,⁵ means 'In Trifling Vein' or 'Trifles.' The collection comprises the *Priapea* and the *Epigrammata*.⁶ The pieces are not all of the same period, but most of them date from Virgil's youth, and immediately suggest Catullus. Indeed, Catullus had borrowed the same title, translating it *Nugae* for one of his volumes of verse.

Manuscripts of the collection are far less abundant than those of the *Culex*. The tradition is divided into two main branches, one represented by the Bruxellensis, s. XII, and the other by two varieties of fifteenth century manuscripts.⁷ On the other hand, there are excellent bits of external testimony, including Quintilian's.⁸

¹ *Vita Donatiana*, ed. Brummer, p. 2, 20 ff.

² See Theodor Birt, *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils. Erklärung des Catalepton*, 1910, p. 17. This excellent work marks a notable advance in the interpretation of the *Catalepton*.

³ On the Catullan elements in the *Catalepton* see Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 14, Sommer, *op. cit.* (above p. 3), pp. 71 ff., 99 ff., and the writer's article on *Catullus and the Augustans*, in *H. S. C. P.*, xvii (1906), 17 f. Also see above, p. 12, note 1.

⁴ Horace *Serm.* 1, 10, 19.

⁵ Birt *op. cit.* pp. 6 f.

⁶ See above, p. 7.

⁷ See Vollmer in his edition, p. 126.

⁸ *Inst. Or.* 8, 3, 27 f.

PRIAPEA

The *Priapea* are graceful and sprightly soliloquies of the scarecrow-god, who figures also in the *Georgics* and the *Bucolics*.¹ Like the other specimens preserved, they are inscriptional in form. This does not mean that they are carved each on some statue of the god. They have not such dignity as that. They stand one stage higher in the literary scale than latrine *graffiti*.² They are scribbled on the walls of the god's rustic shrine,³ or brought as offerings to his likeness,⁴ or hung on a nearby tree, sometimes with a blasting effect.⁵ The god expects a bountiful supply of these metrical tributes, and threatens his usual punishment if the poet slights him.⁶ Along with indecency, we find delightful touches of wit and pastoral charm and rustic piety. Ancient religion penetrated life in regions from which it is debarred in our colder and more proper times.

Virgil's *Priapea* are, according to Birt,⁷ the earliest complete specimens of the kind extant in Latin literature. Virgil of course did not invent such a literary type. It is Hellenistic and Catullan.⁸ Virgil took up with this tradition as he did with all, or almost all, the topics that were going the rounds among the successors of Catullus whom he knew in Rome. He shied at the grossly offensive matter and made good poetry of the rest. I am not so sure that the *Priapea* of the extant collection are all of a later date.⁹ This collection is obviously a combination of two different sets of *Priapea*; the first two poems are both introductions. The former is in elegiacs; Schanz rightly calls it the later of the two.⁸ The other, in hendecasyllabics, is in imitation of

¹ *Georg.* 4, 110 f. *Ecl.* 7, 33 ff. In the latter passage, Priapus is *custos pauperis horti* just as in Virgil's *Priapea* 2, 4 and 3, 6.

² See *Priapea* 48 (Baehrens, *P. L. M.* i, 73): Tu, quicumque vides circa tectoria nostra | Non nimium casti carmina plena ioci, | Versibus obscenis offendi desine: non est | Mentula subducti nostra supercilii.

³ *Ibid.*, 2, 9 f.: Ergo quidquid id est, quod otiosus | Templi parietibus tui notavi, | In partem accipias bonam, rogamus.

⁴ Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵ *Priapea*, 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 41 and 47.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁸ *Ibid.* See also Schanz, *op. cit.*, § 320.

⁹ *Ibid.*, and Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 254, 5.

Catullus's preface to his *Nugae*.¹ Various echoes of Catullus appear in the following pieces; most of them occur in those written in hendecasyllabics and choliambics.² Ovidian and Horatian reminiscences most frequently occur in the elegiac poems.³ No hard and fast line can be drawn, and none can gainsay the possibility that all the pieces are late Augustan. But there is also no compelling argument against the supposition that the collection is made up of an earlier set, Catullan in character, in which elegiacs are rare, and a later Ovidian set, in which elegiacs predominate. Whether or not we have before us various pieces that contemporaries or predecessors of young Virgil wrote, we may be tolerably sure that the *Priapea* that served him as models are well enough represented by those that have come down to us.

The first of Virgil's *Priapea* is in elegiacs. The idea of the poem is, so far as we know, his own.⁴ Priapus complains that though he is heaped with rustic bounties in the other seasons, winter gives him a chilling fear that despite his divinity, some lazy rustic may turn the ligneous god into igneous fuel. There is quiet humour in the piece, a touch of Horace's satire on the godhood of scarecrows⁵, and a neat play on Lucretius's remarks on the similarity of *lignum* and *ignis*.⁶ Priapus, who frequently comments on the woodenness of his nature,⁷ fears that he may be subjected to an uncomfortable kind of atomistic transformation:

Nam frigus metuo et vereor ne ligneus ignem
Hic deus ignavis praebeat agricolis.

¹ Cf. the close of the poem (quoted in Note 3 above) with that of Catullus 1. Cf. also v. 3 with Cat. 1, 7.

² Cf. 8, 3 with Cat. 5, 3; 52, 11 with Cat. 5, 12; 77, 10 with Cat. 7, 2.

³ Cf. 10, 4 and 73, 3; with Hor. *Serm.* 1, 8, 1; 16, 5 with Ovid, *Epist.* 21 and *Ars. Am.* 1, 457; 21, 3 with Ovid. *Ars. Am.* 2, 265; 67, 33 with Ovid. *Am.* 1, 8, 47. The whole coloring of *Priap.* 67 is Ovidian; (cf. 80, 1 with Ovid. *Am.* 3, 7, 1 ff.). It should be further noted that Horace, *Serm.* 1, 8, is only a longer specimen of the type of *Priap.* 12, 32 and 46, while *Priap.* 3 is ascribed to Ovid by the elder Seneca, *Contr.* 1, 2, 22. See Schanz, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Birt, *op. cit.* p. 22.

⁵ *Serm.* 1, 8.

⁶ This point has escaped Birt and other editors, so far as I can discover. Lucian Müller wished to "emend" *ligneus* into *lentus in*.

⁷ *Priapea* 6, 1: Qui sum ligneus, ut uides, Priapus. Cf. 10, 4; 73, 3, etc.

This, then is a pleasant variation on a familiar theme by a poet acquainted with Epicurean science.

In the second poem, which is a longer affair in iambics, a better favored Priapus speaks. He has offerings throughout the year, his winter relish being "olives cooked with cold."¹ He goes on to boast of the goats raised in his pastures — as though he were responsible for the process — of the lambs that enable their owner, with better luck than the shepherd in the *Bucolics*² to come back from town laden with coin, and of the heifers that despite their dam's laments, pour out their blood at the shrines of the gods; this verse, like that in the preceding poem, shows that the writer has not forgotten his Lucretius.³ Then comes a touch of the traditional coarseness, handled delicately, and in fact with a moral lesson attached. The passer-by, perhaps induced by Priapus's vaunting of his attractions, attempts an insult. He is warned that the bailiff, who opportunely appears, can convert the wooden *mentula* of the god into an effective club.⁴

The third piece is in the beautiful and impetuous Priapean metre that Catullus had employed with great skill.⁵ The god, in charge of a swampy sort of garden that suggests Mantua,⁶ boasts of the pretty offerings that he receives from the farmer's household:

Florida mihi ponitur picta vere corolla,
primitus tenera virens spica mollis arista,
luteae violae mihi lacteumque papaver
pallentesque cucurbitae et suave olentia mala,
uva pampinea rubens educata sub umbra.

¹ I think that we should read as the archetype of our manuscripts evidently did: *Mihi glauca oliva duro cocta frigore*. *Glauca* is a traditional epithet of the olive; that it applies strictly to the leaf rather than to the fruit is not a matter worth quibbling about. *Cocta frigore* refers to the ripening of the olive in the late autumn or early winter, as Voss saw (Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 30).

² V. 13: *gravem domum remittit aere dexteram*. Cf. *Ecl.* 1, 35; *Moretum*, 80.

³ Cf. v. 15 and Lucretius, 2, 352 ff.

⁴ The correct explanation of the closing verses is given, I believe, by K. Prinz, *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1914, 1020 ff. Some genius invented Priapus and his organ, which at once affected the yokel with religious awe, cheered him with ribald jests and provided him with a weapon for whacking the transgressor. Priapus is also moral — for once — in a poem of the collection (No. 64).

⁵ *Poem* 17; *Frag.* 2.

⁶ Birt, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.

These verses have the lusciousness of Catullus's

quoi cum sit viridissimo nupta flore puella
et puella tenellulo delicatior haedo,¹

and the richness of the description of pastoral tributes in the second *Eclogue*. Our poet has also learned restraint since he composed that prolix array of floral offerings in the *Culex*.² Faithful to his charge, the god suggests that the youthful marauders will find a wealthier and less vigilant Priapus at the next-door neighbour's, to which he kindly points the nearest way.³

Virgil would not have been ashamed of this perfect little poem, or of its companion-pieces, in any period of his career. It is useless to guess how long they were written before the *Bucolics*, or how long after.⁴ We must not divide Virgil's activity into water-tight compartments as though he could not turn aside from writing *Bucolics* or *Georgics* or *Aeneid* to pleasant little *jeux d'esprit* as a relief from the larger task. At the same time, it is most natural to associate these pieces with the rest of the *Catalepton* and Virgil's apprenticeship to *Catullus*.

EPIGRAMMATA

The *Epigrammata* include fourteen pieces in various Catullan metres, elegiac, iambic, and choliambic; the familiar hendecasyllabic, Virgil did not try — at least there are no specimens of this metre in the present collection. The elegiacs are of the Catullan and not of the Ovidian type; the later practice of invariably ending the pentameter with a dissyllable is not observed here. Most of the poems are early, and in character, very Catullan.⁵ Some show us the youthful Virgil among the poets of love — nothing to wonder at when we consider the second *Eclogue* and the tenth, with its tribute to Gallus and his school. Virgil is one of a group of young writers, Tucca and Varius among their number, who continue the vein of Calvus and Catullus.

¹ 17, 14 f. For direct echoes of Catullus, for the Catullan character of the metre, and for refinements introduced by Virgil, see Birt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 f. But Birt should not call Catullus's humorously jolting verse (22) "ungeschickt."

² See above, p. 120.

³ The same idea appears in *Priapea* 51, 23 f.

⁴ Not long before, according to Birt, pp. 16 ff.

⁵ On the Catullan character of the metre, see Sommer, *op. cit.* (pp. 86 ff.).

To Tucca, Virgil complains that his lady-love has returned from a visit, but is not the more accessible to him for that reason, as her jealous husband keeps her under lock and key.¹ To Varius, he confesses his desperate love of a lad — he first refers to his beloved as *πρόθος*, and then realizing how shocked the critics would be to find a Greek word in a Latin verse, calls him in plain Latin *iste puer*. A good bit of passion lies beneath this mock compliance with the purists' rules.²

Also in the manner of Catullus are certain boisterous invectives, which lack, however, the inexpressible filth from which Catullus did not refrain. In one of these, Poem No. 2, he satirizes the rhetorician Annius Cimber, archaistic and Atticistic in tendency, who poisoned his brother with a mess of his own style. We should not know the name of the rhetorician, did not Quintilian quote the epigram, which he considered admirable.³ Ausonius knew it too, and either had a fuller text of it than we have or sadly bungled our present text.⁴ I shall make no fresh attempt to analyze the ingredients of Cimber's deadly concoction,⁵ but a word may be said as to the date of the epigram. The murder took place before 43 B.C., as Cicero refers to it in the *Philippics*,⁶ but how much before, we do not know. Cicero's language does not imply that it was specially recent. If it had occurred as far back as 52, Cicero's remarks would still have point — he simply finds a man of Cimber's character a useful example of the kind of company that Antony was wont to keep. The epigram, on the other hand, should probably be dated not very long after the event; the satire of

¹ This poem has at last been satisfactorily explained; see Birt, pp. 48 ff.

² This, I take it, is the spirit of this piece (No. 7), slightly differing from that of *Priapea* 3, with which it may well be compared. There the intent is to ridicule elegant circumlocutions of the unvarnished vernacular.

³ *Inst. Or.* 8, 3, 27 ff.

⁴ *Grammaticomast.* 5-9. I should imagine that just as v. 2 is lacking, whether through accident or intent, in Quintilian's quotation, the archetype of our manuscripts may have omitted after v. 3 another line which contained the *al Celtarum* and the *sil* that puzzled Ausonius.

⁵ According to H. W. Garrod, *C. Q.*, iv (1910), 123 ff., the satirized forms are Latin. W. Schmid, *Philologus*, lxxii (1913), 148, finds a great deal more Greek than anybody had suspected before. H. R. Fairclough, *T. A. P. A.*, xlvii (1916), 43 ff., suggests that the *tyrannus Atticae febris* may refer to Thucydides as the masterful describer of the plague at Athens.

⁶ 11, 6, 14; 13, 12, 26.

it, somewhat tame at the best, would have completely lost its sting four or five years after the event. The situation, I think, is as follows. Young Virgil has come to Rome and is studying rhetoric. Although, as we have just inferred, not wholly a purist, he is disposed, like Horace later, to ridicule fads of style. Cimber, who was faddish in style, and most reprehensible in morals, kills his brother. Out comes the epigram at once — Cimber must have served his brother with a dose of his own vocabulary. The date of the poem, then, is virtually that of the murder itself; this, as we see from Cicero, must have taken place before 43 B.C. From what we have learned of Virgil's early career, we may infer that both events occurred round about the year 52.

Poems 6 and 12 are companion-pieces in honor of a certain "Owl-eyes," Noctuius, who, of low class himself, has married the daughter of Atilius, one of the landed gentry — the name is common in North Italy. But Owl-eyes does not see that he has incidentally married another daughter of Atilius, to wit, the bottle. The old gentleman is *pater potationis*, and his example infects his son-in-law. There is a dreadful mix-up, in which both son-in-law and father-in-law play the part of husband. The poet well remarks, in a verse that parodies Catullus,¹ —

gener socerque, perdidistis omnia.

Both poems show something of the hot blood of Catullus. The setting of the twelfth is the wedding-day; it is a fine specimen of *Fescennina iocatio* and ends boisterously with the marriage cry —

thalassio, thalassio, thalassio.

Parody of Catullus on a more elaborate scale appears in No. 10. The parody is at the expense not of Catullus but of the subject of the poem, a former mule-driver, now a provincial magistrate, who has dedicated a portrait or statue of himself in a temple of Castor and Pollux. Catullus's poem on the yacht (No. 4), is the model; it is cleverly adapted to the new theme by surprisingly few verbal changes. Only two verses are made up entirely of new material, and only two of the original are passed.² It is an extraordinary metrical tour of force,

¹ *Catal.* 6, 6; Catullus 29, 24.

² I do not find it necessary to assume with Birt and others that our manuscripts have omitted a line after v. 19, or even to emend *utrumque* to *ulrimque* with Heinsius.

and the invective is neat and pungent. The upstart is beyond doubt a local magnate of Cremona or some other place near Virgil's home town, and not as scholars have supposed till lately, Ventidius Bassus.¹ Thereby disappears the only clue to an exact dating of the poem. I am inclined to put it with the other Catullan pieces, in the early years of Virgil's sojourn in Rome. It shows that Horace, who chose a very similar theme for his fourth *Epode*, was helped by Virgil as well as by Catullus in shooting Archilochian *iambi* at the targets of his satire.

Another seemingly early piece is No. 3. It commemorates the downfall of some mighty monarch of men, who had subdued the kings and nations of Asia, and after levelling all other obstacles with his spear, was aiming at Rome herself. But in the very midst of the struggle, he fell headlong, driven from his fatherland to exile. In a rather boyish and obvious fashion, that recalls a passage in the *Culex*,² the poet ends with moralizings on the arbitrary sway of Fortune.

There have been many candidates proposed for the hero of this piece. Birt makes out a strong case for Alexander³ — a subject that might have been assigned as a rhetorical theme of the kind with which Roman schoolboys were familiar. But one detail is not explained by Birt; Alexander's later career may be described as an "exile from home," but he was hardly driven to it. We are rather inclined to look about for a contemporary hero. Phraates has been suggested,⁴ but Virgil would have written something more powerful than the present piece in 32 B.C. or the years immediately following, we should imagine, granting that Phraates deserves to be set on so exalted a bad eminence as he is here assigned. One also thinks of Pompey, but his end was more than exile, his station was hardly that of a king, and his purpose would scarcely be described even by a Caesarian as that of imposing *grave servitium* on the Roman people. Antony is another selection.⁵ The opening lines are not too extravagant a description of the oriental pomp that Antony had assumed, and he surely threatened

¹ See Birt's excellent remarks, pp. 116 f., and E. T. Merrill, *Classical Philology*, viii (1913), 389 ff. Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 77 still adheres to Ventidius.

² Vv. 339 ff.

³ Pp. 61 ff. So Sommer, p. 78.

⁴ See Nettleship in *The Works of Virgil*, Conington and Nettleship, revised by Haverfield, 1898, I, p. xxi.

⁵ See especially, N. De Witt, *American Journal of Philology*, xxxiii (1912), 317 ff.

Rome with slavery; but his fall was to death, not exile. He lived for about a year after Actium, but life in Alexandria was anything but an exile for him. We are, therefore, left with Mithradates, whom every detail in the poem does fit at the moment when he fled from Pompey into the wilds of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.¹ This was in 66. The king recovered sufficiently to plan reprisals and even a new attack on Italy, but finally succumbed to the conspiracy organized by his son Pharnaces and ended his life by poison and the sword in 63. We are not told that Virgil, seven or eight years old at the time, was writing poems at that tender age, but this piece might well have been done about the time of the *Culex*, when he was still a school-boy at Milan. The career of Mithradates, whom Cicero in 45 called the greatest king after Alexander,² would have impressed itself on the imagination of school-boys and school-teachers for some time after that monarch's death. The subject prescribed, or chosen, is not the death of Mithradates but his downfall. It is a better moment to select than the death, which did not immediately follow, to illustrate the point set forth in the closing lines.

We now come to a pair of poems of considerable biographical importance. The fourth is addressed to a certain Musa, a learned devotee of Clio³ and all the choir of Phoebus. He is about to part from Virgil, who swears eternal affection to him, though scarcely hoping that it will be requited. This is the language of respect appropriate in accosting a patron or somebody of a higher station in life. The eleventh poem laments the death of Octavius, a writer of Roman history, who, rumor had it, died from excessive fondness of the bowl. Piecing together the two poems, we find them concerned with the same man, Octavius Musa, who was a member of the literary circle to which Horace, Virgil, and Maecenas belonged,⁴ and one of the agents

¹ Appian, *Mithr.* 102.

² *Acad. Pr.* 2, 1, 3: ille rex post Alexandrum maximus.

³ Birt tries to show (pp. 69 f., 131), I think without success, that *Clio* in this poem and *historia* in the Eleventh do not indicate that Octavius wrote history. I should rather infer that he was a versatile writer like Pollio, trying his hand both at history and various sorts of verse, epic perhaps included.

⁴ Hor. *Serm.* 1, 10, 82. Horace's Octavius, whether Octavius Musa or not, is placed in exalted company — Plotius, Varius, Maecenas, Virgil, Valgius, Fuscus and the Visci.

of Octavian during the disturbances at Cremona. He paid off an old grudge on the Mantuans by taking a slice from their territory too;¹ it looks as if he were, or had been, a resident of Cremona. It is now tolerably clear who the Octavius is in whose honor the boy Virgil wrote his *Culex*. He was a somewhat younger boy of higher station whom Virgil met in his school-days at Cremona or Milan. We get glimpses of his career down to 35 B.C., when Horace published the first book of his *Satires* and we find his death recorded in the eleventh poem of the *Catalepton*. Not long after the *Culex*, perhaps even before Virgil had left Milan,² occurred the parting between the two youths and Virgil's poem of farewell. It suggests in spirit several of Catullus's poems of friendship,³ and perhaps, though this is a dubious point, contains reminiscences of Catullus.⁴ The last poem in the series is not very much later than 35, for Octavius is outlived by his father and goes before his contribution to *historia Romana* has been completed.⁵ Octavius is the first among the heroes of young Virgil, who was born with a passionate hero-worship, and successively transferred his worship, for good cause, to various heroes. We can imagine that Octavius's treatment of the Mantuans may have led to estrangement. The present tribute, written after his death, is a trifle chilly; an ardent admirer would not have found it necessary to mention the fatal bottle, even though this is called the outward and secondary sign of an all-compelling fate.⁶

The evidence that Virgil could write a mediocre poem later in his career — at the time when the *Georgics* were well under way — may help us decide the case of No. 9. This is a panegyric of Messalla, in

¹ See Servius on *Ecl.* 9, 7.

² Birt, p. 67, allows for this possibility.

³ E. g. 9 and 46. This point is well made by Sommer, p. 84.

⁴ See Birt, pp. 67 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶ Birt makes the tone more cheerful still by discovering a Centaur in v. 2. Starting with an epigram of Callimachus, imitated here, which has the Centaur (ἦρα τὸ καὶ Κένταυρον; ὁ μοι πεπρωμένος ὕπνος | ἦλθεν, ὁ δὲ τλήμων οἶνος ἔχει πρόφασιν.), Birt gets *dicunt Centaurum* out of *dicunt* (*dicuntur* AR) *animo* (*animi* B). This is a clever misuse of ingenuity, at which both Palaeography and Quellenforschung might be expected to nod approval. Birt is so fascinated with his centaur, that he thinks (pp. 127, 132) that Horace in *Carm.* 1, 18 and Virgil elsewhere have the present passage in mind. However, I believe that the Urbinas has the right reading, whether or not by conjecture, a *nimio*.

honor either of his triumph over the Aquitanians in 27 B.C., or of the general triumph of Octavian, in which Messalla shared, celebrated after the battle of Actium in 31. At the time, then, Virgil was either just finishing the *Georgics* or beginning the *Aeneid*. Messalla, as we shall later see,¹ had been interested in Virgil's early work. Virgil, like Horace, though specially of the circle of Maecenas, was not thereby debarred from friendship with other patrons of literature. Horace made Messalla the fine gift of his best convivial ode, *O nate mecum consule Manlio*.² Virgil contributed the present piece, a distinctly mediocre affair, such as great poets sometimes produce when writing from a sense of duty. And yet there are touches of the real Virgil in the poem, particularly in the neat compliment to Messalla's Greek pastorals, which the poet describes with a reminiscence of his own.³ The poem begins with the acclamation of the victor and the praise of his literary achievements. There follows the praise of his heroine, who is likened to various mythological prototypes. Instead of recounting the victor's military exploits, the poet passes them by in a tiresome series of rhetorical questions. Such deeds are too magnificent for him to laud; they speak for themselves. Enough for the poet if he can shed adequate praise on the hero's poetical triumphs:

Hoc satis est: pingui nil mihi cum populo.

The piece ends thus abruptly, in a somewhat Pindaric manner.⁴ It follows in general the rules laid down for encomia in the rhetorical treatise *Ad Herennium*.⁵ The poet evidently approached his task with about the amount of immediate inspiration that writers of Pindaric odes in English poetry have possessed. Bows from the poet laureate to the victor laureate are apt to be formal. The reason that Virgil has written admirable *carmina iussa* in some of the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* is that those really are not ordered but spring from the heart. No poet can write by compulsion. When he tries, we should not relieve him of the responsibility for the result. Our verdict should be, "A pity that he had to do it," not "It is the work of

¹ See below, pp. 147, 154.

² *Carm.* 3, 21.

³ V. 17: molliter hic viridi patulae sub tegmine quercus. Cf. *Ecl.* 1, 1.

⁴ Cf. the ending of *Ol.* 3 and *Pyth.* 2.

⁵ Shown by Sommer, p. 51.

somebody else." Scholars have not questioned, unless in the school of Peerlkamp, that Horace wrote the fourteenth ode of Book 4.¹

A still harder poem to accept, on first reading, as Virgil's is No. 13.² In metre and matter, this is an epode. A certain Lucius has declared that our poet, enfeebled by dissipation, can no longer endure the toils of the sea or the camp. Virgil describes the vices of his critic in billingsgate so abusive that it suggests a literary exercise. We find in the *Bucolics* ribald pastoral invective quite as violent as that here and on the same theme.³ Virgil had not served in the army or the navy, so far as we had known, and his life had been singularly pure; even Suetonius could rake together only a few dubious items for the chapter of scandals with which he regularly equipped his biographies of illustrious men. But there is a certain liturgy of abuse, which Archilochus and Catullus and Filelfo and Milton well knew, and which relieves us of the necessity of taking invectives as historic truth.⁴ There is also a liturgy of the improper, a narrative told indecently and in order, authorized on the principle of

nam castum esse decet pium poetam
ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est.⁵

¹ Birt, pp. 91 ff. and Sommer, pp. 37 ff. attempt an elaborate proof that the poem is not Virgil's. I agree with P. Jahn in his review of Sommer (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1911, 1397 ff.) that if the rest of the *Catalepton* can be accepted, there is no good reason for leaving out No. IX. Sommer, indeed, has furnished (pp. 44 ff.) a useful list of coincidences between it and Catullus, *Culex*, *Ciris* and the undoubted works of Virgil. This evidence, some of which had already been collected by Naeke, *op. cit.*, p. 233, helps to put the poem in the same literary setting as others of the *Catalepton*, and also to connect it with Virgil. Connections with Virgil, in the case of any of the disputed works are not proof of a later imitation. They may be instances of Virgil's constant habit of echoing his own phrases. Such coincidences occur, e. g., in the *Priapea*, which Sommer (p. 74) accepts as Virgilian. Indeed, if a work of any extent contained none of them, its genuineness would be subject to the gravest suspicions. Sommer (pp. 56 ff.) believes that the *Laudatio Messallae* included in the *Corpus Tibullianum* imitates the present poem. This may well be so.

² Rejected by Sommer (pp. 60 ff.) mainly because it contradicts what we know of Virgil's life. Sommer spends most of his time in disproving Nemethy's thesis that the poem is the work of Horace.

³ *Ecl.* 3, 7 ff.

⁴ See Birt, p. 142.

⁵ Catullus, 16, 5 f. See Hack's discussion in *H. S. C. P.*, xxv (1914), 107 ff.

Even the younger Pliny, the least libidinous of lovers, bows to the custom of the forefathers, cites a kind of apostolic succession of improper writers, Virgil, be it noted, among them, and with a splendid effort of conscience, writes a naughty, but not very convincing, poem himself.¹ Horace in his *Epodes* uses similar autobiographical fiction with more effect, for the purpose of satirizing the third person in terms of the first. The present piece might have been prompted by the *Epodes*, which Virgil doubtless knew considerably before the volume appeared in 30 B.C.; or perhaps it occurred to him even earlier, in the storm and stress of youth, to turn into an Archilochian epode the material of a Catullan invective. Indeed he had paved the way to such an achievement in Poems 6, 10, and 12. He is thus a half-way mark between Catullus and Horace.² We may thus credit Virgil with starting in Roman literature a form which Horace claimed as his creation, just as he called lyric poetry his own despite the few essays of Catullus with sapphics, and just as Ovid is the ultimate author of heroines' love-letters, though Propertius hit the idea first.

Further, the poem may contain after all a certain amount of reliable autobiography. It were nothing surprising for instance, if, Virgil, like any young Roman, served for a while, as long as his sickly constitution permitted, in the army.³ I hardly think that we can venture more definite conclusions. Birt would fix on the beginning of the Civil War as the time of Virgil's campaign, in which he fought on Caesar's side.⁴ A reference to Caesar, if the text is not corrupt,⁵ would indicate, what is most probable, that Virgil was favorably disposed towards Caesar; more we cannot say. Birt sees reasons⁶ for placing the poem before No. 5, in which the poet seems to cry *peccavi*⁷ for the indecency of just such a piece as the present. If all this is so, No. 5 would have been written rather late in Virgil's career.⁸

¹ *Epist.* 4, 14; 5, 3; 7, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 143 f.

² Birt, pp. 115 f., 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³ So Birt, p. 143.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 148.

⁷ Vv. 12 f.: et tamen meas chartas | revisitote, sed *pudenter* et raro.

⁸ After v. 16 there suddenly appears in the inferior branch of the tradition an elegiac quatrain of uncertain text but obvious enough meaning. It is an epitaph on some genius for whose premature death the somewhat cold consolation is offered that none is exempt from fate. This piece is called by Vollmer (see his edition *ad loc.*) a humanistic composition on Virgil himself. Birt, however (pp. 178 ff.), who

If we are justified in accepting poems 11 and 13 as Virgil's and thereby assuming that the *Catalepton* contain certain pieces composed in poet's later periods when the *Georgics* or even the *Aeneid* was his immediate task, there is no antecedent reason for barring out No. 14. This is a prayer to Venus that she will grant the poet strength to finish his epic, so that Trojan Aeneas may ride in triumph through the streets of Rome:

Troius Aeneas Romana per oppida digno
iam tandem ut tecum carmine vectus eat.¹

The first of these verses is made up of phrases from the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*, and other echoes of these poems occur.² The votive offering will be not only incense and wreaths and a picture, but a hornèd ram, a mighty bull and a marble Cupid with iridescent wings.³ These will be consecrated in the temple of Venus on the Surrentine shore. This

gives a plausible reconstruction of the text, thinks that the writer lived not much later than Ovid, and Ribbeck even supposed that the verses are part of *Catal.* 11; see his edition. They stood, I should infer, in some manuscript from which the archetype of all our present copies are derived, at the head of a page that came after the epilogue to the *Catalepton* (No. 15). The scribe turned a leaf or two too many, caught the quatrain at the top of the page, discovered his error, added a direction to omit or transpose, and proceeded with the copying of No. 13. The scribe of our archetype, or of some ancestor, copied the misplaced passage without observing the signs of omission or transposition, and thus it is engrafted in the text of No. 13 in one branch of the tradition. The scribe of B, or some ancestor, either found the signs in the archetype and heeded them, or found them not, but noting the incongruity of the verses, boldly left them out. Thirty-nine lines remain between 13, 16, and the end of the Epilogue to the *Catalepton*; if we allow two lines for headings to Nos. 14 and 15, and a line for a subscription, we have forty-two, that is a leaf with twenty-one lines on the page. Possibly not one but two or more leaves were carelessly turned by the scribe. The quatrain, at any rate, comes from some collection that followed the *Catalepton*. There is nothing to show that it is by Virgil or about him. There is no obvious indication of its date. It might, perhaps, have been part of a series of short poems put together in the fourth century, like the *Carmina Vergiliana* collected by Baehrens (*P. L. N.*, iv, 156 ff.). But this is all guesswork. We may infer only that the lines are probably not by Virgil.

¹ For an admirable translation of this poem, see Dr. T. H. Warren's *The Death of Virgil*, vv. 756 ff. This work is more than an agreeable exercise in dramatics. It contains many fine observations on Virgil's style and his temperament.

² See Sommer, pp. 68 ff.

³ See Birt, p. 172.

is a fine place for an offering to Venus, and one to which Virgil would naturally turn from his favorite resort at Naples.¹ Augustus, too, is pictured as joining in the prayer. This language is appropriate enough for the author of an epic which immortalizes, if not the historical career of Augustus, that which is more important still, the guiding ideals of his policy and of his times.² We must remember, too, that Augustus had taken a special interest in the *Aeneid*, hearing Virgil read several books of it to him and begging him in a letter to expedite the work and send him a specimen.³ At the moment when Augustus wrote this letter, Virgil was feeling despondent about the success of his epic. He declares that he must have been out of his senses when he undertook it⁴—a remark that has led literal-minded critics to take warning from Virgil's "own confession" and refrain from "hysterical admiration" of an inferior work.⁵ Ups and downs of a writer's sentiment are inevitable in the progress of a great poem like the *Aeneid*. The present piece gives a mood of hope, of that radiant aspiration towards some high achievement that appears often enough in Virgil.⁶

A metrical detail is not without significance. Though the poem was written at a time⁷ when Tibullus and Propertius had developed the style of pentameter, later perfected by Ovid, in which a word longer than a dissyllable regularly is not allowed at the end of the verse,⁸ this rule is not here observed; three of the six pentameters end in polysyllables. This is a mark of genuineness, not *pace* Sommer,⁹ of spuriousness. A later forger who possessed the inspiration that the present piece shows would have probably mastered the elegiac technique observed in his day. Virgil is of the old school. He wrote Catullan

¹ *Vita Donatiana*, ed. Brummer, p. 3, 43; *Georg.* 4, 564.

² Birt, p. 170.

³ *Vita Donat.* p. 7, 105 ff.; Servius on *Aen.* 4, 323; Macrobius *Saturn.* 1, 24, 11.

⁴ Macrobius *loc. cit.*: ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar.

⁵ Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 228, 5. The remark of Teuffel is a bit toned down in the recent revision by Kroll and Skutsch.

⁶ E. g., *Culex*, 8 ff. *Ecl.* 8, 6 ff. *Georg.* 3, 8 ff.

⁷ Birt, p. 172, places it between the writing of Books 1 and 5 of the *Aeneid*. At any rate, a goodly portion of the poem has been finished.

⁸ See above, p. 132.

⁹ Pp. 69 ff.

elegiacs in his youth, and clung to this manner when, for the nonce, he later turned to elegiacs again.

Two poems remain, which give especially important clues to the development of Virgil's interests in the period of his youth. The first of these, believed Virgilian by various scholars who do not accept the *Catalepton* as a whole,¹ is a boyish farewell to rhetoric and poetry as the sterner training in philosophy under Siro is in prospect. Virgil's rhetorical studies are well attested. One of his masters was Epidius.² He doubtless entered some rhetorical school when he came from Milan to Rome, round about the year 52.³ The vigor of this little poem suggests the bits of Catullan invective in the *Catalepton*. It also ushers in an important period in Virgil's youthful career. It is the only poem in the series, with perhaps the exception of No. 13, on which Birt's notes throw more darkness than light. The Varro mentioned, we will admit, is hardly the great Varro or Tarquinius the Etruscan antiquary.⁴ But surely they are the lad's teachers, not his companions, and surely his farewell to his beautiful mates is sincere, not ironical.⁵

The poetry to which Virgil bids good-bye — only a partial good-bye — would include the *Culex* and whatever he had written primarily under the spell of Catullus. This need not have been a lengthy period; a year would amply suffice to explain what we have seen in the *Catalepton*. Doubtless there were other pieces, dashed off at white heat, that early disappeared from view like the poetry of Calvus and Cinna; indeed it is by the merest chance that the immortal *nugae* of Catullus have come down to us. The word *pudenter* in the last line perhaps implies,⁶ that Virgil soon repented of certain performances in the libidinous vein scanted by Catullus and other predecessors.⁷ At all events, a turning-point in his intellectual career has come.

We hear of Siro some years later, in a poem, or little prayer, addressed to the humble villa, once Siro's, which now was to shelter Virgil, his father and others of his family, "If sadder news comes from

¹ Teuffel, § 230, 5. Schanz, *op. cit.*, § 241.

² Sueton., *De Gramm.* 28. Birt, p. 72.

³ I agree with Sommer, who dates the present poem early (though perhaps a bit too early, 53 B.C.) rather than with Birt (pp. 18, 72), who thinks it shortly preceded No. 8, which he assigns to the year 41.

⁴ See Birt, p. 73.

⁶ Above, p. 140, note 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁷ Above, p. 139; Birt, p. 72.

my native town." The circumstances suggest either the year 43, after the battle of Mutina, or ¹ 41, after Philippi. The poet writes presumably from Rome, at least from some place not Mantua.² Wherever the little villa was,³ its philosophical owner had found it, as Horace found his Sabine farm, stocked with that abiding wealth which the young author of the *Culex* had praised.⁴ Whether Virgil and his family actually had recourse to this villa, we do not know. At all events, this little poem gives us autobiographical facts concerning Virgil, quite different from the ideal presentation of a general situation which suits the art of the *Bucolics*. Various critics from Servius on have come to grief in the attempt to extract from the *Bucolics* by that dangerous instrument, allegorical interpretation, a coherent account of Virgil's own experience during the unhappy period of demobilization at Mantua.⁵

The *Catalepton* closes with an epilogue which obviously is not by Virgil himself.

Vate Syracosio qui dulcior Hesiodoque
maior, Homereo non minor ore fuit,
illius haec quoque sunt divini elementa poetae
et rudis in vario carmine Calliope.

If Varius or Tucca, Virgil's literary executors, did not write this envoy, some other expert did, who knew that 'sweet' was a favorite word with Theocritus,⁶ and that Virgil's temperament was epic. The fourteenth poem has the right ring, but otherwise there are no conspicuously epic notes in the *Catalepton*; this quatrain must have stood at the end of a collection that contained more than the *Catalepton*. We have detected the flavor of epic in the *Culex* here and there — it will appear again in others of the minor works.⁷

¹ So Birt, p. 86. Sommer, p. 29, calls the date 42.

² Birt, p. 86.

³ Possibly Naples, or North Italy. Birt, p. 86.

⁴ Cf. v. 2 with *Culex* 58-97. See Birt, p. 88.

⁵ For excellent remarks on this subject, see Birt, pp. 86 ff.

⁶ So Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 9, 9. Birt, p. 175.

⁷ Birt, pp. 8 f., believes that the quatrain was added by Varius and Tucca, and that as it applies only to the *Catalepton*, it shows that Virgil's literary executors did not think that he wrote the other minor poems ascribed to him. This conclusion is dangerous, not only because of the absence of the epic element in the *Catalepton*, but because the collection contains several pieces (at least 9, 11, and 14), which

IV

CIRIS

It was the fame of Siro, we have seen, that decided young Virgil to renounce the Muses and to take up serious thinking. Siro came to Rome in 50 B.C.,¹ a date that fits in well with the story of Virgil's early career as we have deduced it thus far. If the latter came down from Milan in 52, he would have had two years in which to study rhetoric and to run the gamut of Catullan emotions and themes; he would be quite ready to turn to something new. The *Vita* by Probus, which I think certain scholars are a bit too prone to set aside,² marks out a brief scientific or philosophic period in Virgil's development. *Vixit pluribus annis*, this document declares,³ *liberali in otio, secutus Epicuri sectam, insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintili, Tuccae et Varii*. His associates are Tucca and Varius as before, and likewise Quintilius — apparently Quintilius Varus, who on the testimony of Horace,⁴ was one of the dearest of Virgil's friends. There is also a tantalizing fragment in one of the Herculaneum rolls, which makes it possible that Virgil with Quintilius and Varius were among the pupils of Philodemus.⁵ Young Romans attended the lectures of both these authorities on Epicureanism. Cicero, though never won by that school, revered these leaders, whom he calls his friends, as fine men and learned

cannot be called youthful works. If, on the other hand, the quatrain was appended to a collection containing also *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Aetna*, *Copa*, and *Dirae*, the proportion of later poems becomes insignificantly small and the general designation of the pieces as *elementa* is justified. Vollmer (in his edition, p. 142) and Sommer (pp. 12 ff.), regard the poem as late — fourth century, according to the latter — and as intended for a volume containing more than the *Catalepton*. The hypothesis might be entertained — I can contribute nothing new in its favor — that Varius and Tucca added the epilogue to the collection of minor poems named in the ancient *Vita*. If so, the *Catalepton* stood last in the series. Such an arrangement would be chronologically appropriate, since the *Catalepton* includes, besides very early pieces, the latest specimens of Virgil's occasional verse.

¹ Birt, pp. 17, 72.

² For a list of discussions, see Teuffel, *op. cit.*, §301, 6, 5.

³ Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, p. 73, 10. This statement is supported by Servius (Donatus) on *Ecl.* 6, 3: *nam vult exequi sectam Epicuream, quam didicerant tam Vergilius quam Varus docente Sirone*. See also on *Aen.* 6, 264.

⁴ *Carm.* 1, 24.

⁵ Birt, p. 17.

thinkers.¹ But even without the help of Herculaneum or of the *Vita* by Probus, we are sure from the evidence of *Catalepton* 5 and the profound study of Lucretius which *Culex*, *Bucolics* and *Georgics* cumulatively show, that Virgil had at some time steeped himself in Epicurean lore. We need no further proof, either, that he lived on intimate terms with Varius, Tucca and Quintilius.

At first reading, the *Ciris* seems curiously unlike Virgil. It is hard to understand, particularly as the manuscript tradition is so bad. The text descends by the same line by which the *Catalepton* has reached us, save that the *Bruxellensis*, the main support of that work, fails us in the *Ciris*, except for eighty-eight verses at the end of the poem. For the rest of it, only the inferior branch is represented; what that loss means, we can see by noting certain errors of that branch that the *Bruxellensis* clears away in the small portion of text in which it is preserved.² Doubtless the whole poem would seem far more Virgilian if we could establish its text as well as that of the *Bucolics* or even of the *Culex*. For external evidence, besides the statement in the *Vita Donatiana*, a comment in the enlarged Servius (Donatus),³ vouches for the Virgilian authorship of the piece.⁴

The difficulty of ascribing the poem to Virgil is further diminished if we assume that it was written at the beginning of the scientific period in the poet's career.⁴ For the young author of this piece, though

¹ *De Fin.* 2, 119: *Familiares nostros, credo, Sironem dicis et Philodemum, cum optimos viros, tum homines doctissimos.* Cf. *Ad. Fam.* 6, 11, 2.

² E. g., 470, 472, 481, 511, 530, 533. Both branches are of value, for B has its own errors and shows the presence of the gloss; cf. 522.

³ *Ecl.* 6, 3. Servius interprets *cum canerem reges et proelia* as referring to the *Aeneid* or to *gesta regum Albanorum*. He omits the further suggestions of "Donatus," of which the first is: *alii Scyllam eum scribere coepisse dicunt, in quo libro Nisi et Minois, regis Cretensium, bellum describebat.*

⁴ Of recent writers, Vollmer, *op. cit.* (followed by de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*), and A. B. Drachmann (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, *Tredie Raekke*, xiii (1904), 65 ff.; also *Hermes*, xliii (1908), 405 ff.) accept the poem as Virgil's. Drachmann's studies strike me as the best yet written on the subject. P. Jahn (*Rhein. Mus.* lxxiii (1907), 79 ff.), who discusses more coincidences with other poets than anybody had thought worth collecting before, inclines to regard Virgil as the author. The literature of the controversy reopened by Skutsch is given in Teuffel, § 230, 2. Naeke, pp. 235 ff., agrees on the early character (*antiqua simplicitas*) of the poem, puts it before the *Bucolics*, but does not decide for either Gallus or Virgil as its author. On Schrader, see above, p. 105.

a stranger to the task of philosophic exposition,¹ is devoutly attached to the garden of Epicurus. He has already done some worshipping of the Muses, and would like to make the present work an ultimate farewell to poetry.¹ He scorns the prizes of the fickle mob and craves above all things the fame of a philosopher. He would look down on the passing show from a Lucretian ivory tower,² which rests in a more eclectic fashion than Lucretius would have approved, on the pillars of the four ancient schools.³ Philosophy is a haven of refuge to him, as to the youth who wrote the fifth poem of the *Catalepton*.⁴ Feeling, however, that his scientific powers need development, he will for the moment give his patron, the young and yet learned Messalla,⁵ the best that he has:

interdum ludere nobis
et gracilem molli liceat pede claudere versum.⁶

Perhaps a day will come when he can adorn a larger page with science — *naturae rerum magnis intexere chartis*.⁷ This is the same mood of hopeful prophecy that we have noted as characteristic of Virgil.⁸ Meanwhile the humbler Muses have returned to him — *pudenter* — as he had anticipated.

Now for the poem. It is no impromptu affair; it may not, like Cinna's *Smyrna*, be a nine-years' pondered lay, but it at least has cost much burning of the midnight oil.⁹ The theme is the story of Scylla's unhallowed passion for her country's enemy Minos, which led her to cut from her father's head the sacred purple lock on which the safety

¹ Vv. 42 f.: sed quoniam ad tantas nunc primum nascimus artes, | nunc primum teneros firmamus robore nervos. *Artes* cannot refer to poetry; see vv. 10 f.

² We noted at the end of *Catal.* 9 the same philosophic despite of the vulgar herd.

³ Vv. 17 ff.

⁴ Vv. 8 ff., Birt should add to his note (p. 76) on philosophy as a haven, the eloquent passage in Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 5.

⁵ Vv. 36, 54.

⁶ V. 20. The phrasing runs pretty close to that of *Culex* 35 f.: mollia sed tenui pede currere carmina, versu | viribus apta suis Phoebos duce ludere gaudet.

⁷ Vv. 36 ff.

⁸ See above, p. 142, note 6.

⁹ Vv. 46 f.

of the city depended. The young poet soberly rejects the legend of that other Scylla whom poets often declare

candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus
Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto
depressos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis.¹

These lines suddenly arouse a Virgilian feeling in the mind of the reader; they are either a copy or the model of a familiar passage in the *Bucolics*.² The poet remarks, with a certain wit, that neither Homer, who preserves the yarn, nor Ulysses who tells it, has the best reputation for veracity.³ At most, it is a fable of vicious passion, which the author expounds in the manner of Lucretius and with Lucretius's interest in allegorical explanation,⁴ lending a temporary reality to the myth which he would destroy.⁵ He likewise shows a Virgilian sympathy with the unhappy subject of the uncanny tale.⁶ Nor should we be surprised at finding here a peculiar estimate of the story of Scylla that Virgil does not give elsewhere; for his accounts elsewhere are not consistent. In the *Culex*, he had the Homeric version. In the *Bucolics*, he fuses the two legends, and declares that it is the very daughter of Nisus who became the sea-monster; the reason may be that having to tell of Philomel also,⁷ he cannot twice describe how a maiden was

¹ Vv. 59-61.

² *Ecl.* 6, 75 ff.: candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus | Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto, | a! timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis.

³ Sed neque Maeoniae patiuntur credere chartae | nec malus istorum dubiis erroribus auctor. Surely *malus auctor* must refer to Ulysses and not to Neptune (so Sillig) or Homer himself (so Forbiger *ad loc.*, Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, p. 88, and Linforth, *Am. Journ. Philol.*, xxvii (1906), 440 f.). *Istorum* means "such tales as this," and *dubiis erroribus* is a paraphrase of *πολύπλαγκτος*, with the implication that most of Ulysses's travels took place in his imagination. Such criticism of Homer is as old as Pindar, *Nem.* 7, 20 ff. As a matter of fact, Homer has himself answered this particular criticism of Pindar in *Od.* 11, 543.

⁴ See his elaborate account of the inner meanings of the rite of Cybele (2, 600 ff.) and of the punishments of noted villains in Hades (3, 977 ff.)

⁵ Lucretius's Phaethon (5, 396 ff.) is quite as real as Ovid's (*Mel.* 2 ff.). Just so here, the scientifically impossible Scylla seems very much alive.

⁶ V. 71: infelix virgo, quid enim commiserat illa? Also 81 f. Similarly Virgil of the unhappy Pasiphaë (*Ecl.* 6, 47, 52): a, virgo infelix, etc.

⁷ Vv. 78 ff. See Skutsch, i, 99. If as Skutsch thought (p. 110), Virgil compliments Gallus in this passage by borrowing the latter's lines, why should he go out of his

transformed into a bird. He therefore varies — artistic freedom is as natural in the *Bucolics* as scientific exactness is in the present poem.¹ In the *Georgics*,² Scylla is the bird once more, but in the *Aeneid*, the monster;³ Virgil could alter his treatment of the legend to suit his varying purpose. So could Ovid. He, too, now merges the Scyllas into one, and now presents them separately.⁴ We may not infer, therefore, that the *Ciris* is not the work of Virgil because he here condemns the version of the myth that he elsewhere accepts.

There is another reason besides scientific propriety that induces the writer to choose his Scylla with care. Indeed strict science, after all, cannot be his concern, for the metamorphosis of a maiden into a bird is not more naturalistic than her assumption of a girdle of barking sea-dogs. The poet wants to be as scientific as he can — he also wants to throw his subject into high relief. So he feels about for it, blocking out his terrain and designating the parts that he is not going to touch it; it is a sort of *praeteritio*, of which other poets, too, can furnish examples.⁵

After a brief invocation of the Pierides, the poet is ready for the story, which he tells with a firm dignity and a certain mystic wonder, of which the exclamations over the metamorphosis of Scylla are typical,⁶ and to which the sixty-fourth poem of Catullus presents the nearest parallel.⁷ Despite occasional roughness in verse and phrasing, the poem is a noteworthy success. Scylla deserves a place with the characters of tragedy. The moment when her old nurse overtakes her, in the act of stealing by night to her father's chamber in quest of the fatal lock, is full of tragic feeling.⁸ Despite the horror of the deed, we

way to present a view of Scylla that his friend had branded as false? It is more likely that Virgil treated thus cavalierly an earlier poem of his own.

¹ Lucretius (5, 892) had scoffed at the canine Scylla as a scientific impossibility.

² 1, 404 ff.

³ 3, 420 ff.

⁴ In *Am.* 3, 12, 21 ff., the two Scyllas are combined exactly as in *Ecl.* 6. The bird-story appears in *Met.* 8, 91; *Rem.* 67; *Trist.* 2, 393. The monster-story appears in *Her.* 12, 123; *Am.* 2, 11, 18; *Met.* 13, 730, 967; 14, 18; *Ex Pont.* 3, 1, 122; 4, 10, 25. In *A. A.* 1, 331 the couplet of *Am.* 3, 12, 21 is repeated.

⁵ E. g., Horace *Carm.* 3, 11; 3, 27. Ovid. *Met.* 4, 43 ff.

⁶ Vv. 195 ff.

⁷ Cf. Catullus's apostrophe of the age of heroes, vv. 22 ff.

⁸ Ovid appreciated the tragic element in the story, whether he found it in our poem or elsewhere. See *Trist.* 2, 393: *Impia nec tragicos tetigisset Scylla cothurnos, | ni patrium crinem desecuisset amor.*

have the sense of some uncanny destiny that overrules poor mortals and occasions part at least of their guilt — *crudeles vos quoque superi*. A touch of this idea, we saw, was present in the earliest of Virgil's works.¹

As a whole, the epyllion of *Ciris* is in the manner of Catullus and his contemporaries. It also shows some of their minor traits of versification and language, such as spondaic lines and diminutive adjectives.² Some of its very crudities are explained by its Neo-Alexandrian character.³ Taken with the *Catalepton*, it gives evidence of a thoroughgoing emulation of the two varieties of Catullus's work, the *Nugae* and the longer poems.⁴ No touch of his wistful romanticism the yearning for a golden age, appears; its nearest approach is the sense of wonder and mystery. The laments of Scylla and Carme are inferior in pathos to that of Ariadne in Catullus, but the tragic element gives the *Ciris* a peculiar intensity which the latter wholly lacks. Virgil entered the lists against his master another time, when in his story of Dido he again transformed pathos into tragedy. A dim prophecy of this achievement is given in the present poem.

¹ See above, p. 118, note 7.

² Admirably shown by Skutsch, i, 64 ff., ii, 19 ff. The massing of adjectives and participles about a single noun still occurs. Cf. v. 3 with Catullus, 64, 87.

³ For certain details, see Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), pp. 359 ff. One noticeable peculiarity is the frequent use of compound sentences, in which the coördinate elements often form a lengthy chain. Thus in Catullus, 64, 19 ff., three lines begin with *Tum*, each containing a main verb near or at the end of the line. In a stretch of eleven verses (32-42), there are no less than fourteen main verbs, with no subordinate clauses. So in *Ciris*, vv. 29-32, four main verbs follow one another in as many lines, the first three being in exactly the same position in the verse. In a passage of nine lines (459-467), there are seven main verbs. In vv. 387-390, there are three main verbs with *Tum* at the beginning of three of the lines, the whole passage being obviously modelled on Catullus, 64, 19 ff. When Virgil turned to this poem later, with a far different purpose in mind, it is not surprising that he should again exhibit this trait of style. The oracular character of the *Fourth Eclogue* makes short, coördinate sentences appropriate.

⁴ The most apparent reminiscences of Catullus are noted in Vollmer's edition. To specify one detail, the lament of Carme, vv. 283 ff., and that of Scylla, vv. 404 ff., represent a *τόπος* natural enough after Ariadne's lament in Catullus 64, 132 ff. For all that, the coloring of these passages is also a kind of prophecy of the pastoral lament in Virgil's eighth *Eclogue*. Cf. *Ciris* 302, and *Buc.* 8, 59.

Another prophecy of the later Virgil consists in the identity of phrases, lines, and passages with portions of the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. These are so extensive that many believe the *Ciris* is a later imitation, in places almost a *cento*, from these works of Virgil.¹ And yet the piece seems clearly of the school of Catullus. It is hardly conceivable that some belated admirer of the late Republican poets wrote it toward the end of the Augustan period, incidentally making large appropriations from poetry of a different sort.² It is curious that he should plunder Virgil in this wholesale fashion, but borrow from Catullus and Lucretius in the skilfully allusive manner in which Virgil treated his predecessors.³ The perplexities raised by this hypothesis are cleared away by the testimony of tradition. The poem belongs to the earlier period, — and it is by Virgil himself. To see how a later Augustan used the same material, we can turn to Ovid's story of Scylla, or of Byblis, or of Myrrha,⁴ where dapper rhetoric and an expert mastery of pathological impossibilities replace the sober and somewhat archaic art of Catullus and the author of the *Ciris*; technique has developed and grandeur disappeared as in Bernini's sculpture after that of Giovanni Pisano. Virgil could plunder the *Ciris*, for he was plundering his own, and in most cases improving what he took. We do not need the ingenious, but unsupported, theory revived by Skutsch⁵ and favored by Mackail⁵ that *Ciris* is wholly or in part the

¹ The most important coincidences are noted in Vollmer's edition. See also *Sitzungsberichte*, etc (1907), p. 362. These coincidences are not confined to the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. For instance, cf. *Culex*, 385, and *Ciris*, 340; *Catalepton*, 3, 5, and *Ciris*, 291. On *Ciris* and *Catalepton*, see Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 f, 104, 106; Drackmann, *Hermes*, xliii, 425; P. Jahn, *Rhein. Mus.*, lxiii, 100. On the use of the name "Hellespont," in the sense of "Aegean," see G. Jachmann, *Rhein. Mus.*, lxx (1916), 640; it is found in both *Culex* and *Ciris*.

² The priority of the *Ciris*, I believe, has been conclusively shown by Skutsch, i, 61 ff., 105 ff.; ii, 4 ff., and Drachmann in *Nordisk Tidsskrift loc. cit.*, 65 ff.

³ A point admirably made by Drachmann, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Met.* 8, 1; 9, 450; 10, 298.

⁵ See above, pp. 104 f. The bit of external evidence with which Skutsch starts is Servius's remark on *Ecl.* 10, 46: *hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus*. Obviously Virgil is quoting a certain amount from Gallus. How much is covered by *hi omnes versus* it is arbitrary to say. Gallus's elegiacs would have to be refashioned in any case. Suggestive reminiscences there may be in all parts of Gallus's speech, but the problem of this eclogue is not solved by calling

work of Gallus, to whom Virgil paid the compliment of constant borrowing. But Virgil also borrowed, with utter freedom, from his own works, from the *Bucolics* in the *Georgics* and from both of these poems in the *Aeneid*.¹

The mystery of the *Ciris* vanishes if we recognize that it marks an ebullient and unsettled period in its author's career. Of course, then, its style and its very metre differ both from what he had previously done and from what he was later to do.² He is passing consciously, or trying to pass into a new world of thought and feeling.³ He would

it a string of quotations. Its general meaning is clear, and the meaning of vv. 44-45 is clear — it was long ago explained by Servius (*ex affectu ibi se esse putat, ubi amica est, ut 'me' sit 'meum animum'*). The piece is a study of the shifting emotions of a poetic mind, which finally centres on its proper task. It is a tribute to the sincerity of Gallus's elegies, and as noble a tribute as one poet ever paid another. It is far removed from the realm of "Catalogue Poetry." Skutsch, starting with Servius's comment, follows it like the flower in the crannied wall. He naturally finds Catalogue Poetry rampant in the sixth *Eclogue* — but there he is altogether on the broad sea of conjecture.

Mackail's theory amounts to a modification of that of Skutsch. See his *Lectures on Poetry*, p. 68.

¹ See above, p. 127, note 2, and Drachmann, *Nordisk Tidsskrift*, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.

² In a profitable dissertation, (*Num Culex et Ciris Epyllia ab eodem poeta composita sint quaeritur*, Giessen, 1914), Miss L. G. Eldridge comes to the conclusion that owing to their differences in metrical usage, the *Ciris* and the *Culex* cannot be by the same author. But the divergences are by no means fatal to the theory that I am here presenting. In general, the *Ciris* shows greater sureness of touch, but less regularity. Thus there are more elisions allowed than in the *Culex* (p. 48). Hiatus appears (p. 49), though absent from the *Culex*; one variety of hiatus, be it noted, is especially Virgilian — that in which a Greek word is involved at the end of a verse (e. g., 474, repeated *Aen.* 3, 74: Neptuno Aegaeo). Spondaic lines, not a feature of the *Culex*, are introduced in *Ciris* owing to the influence of Catullus, and later again disappear in Virgil (cf. *Ciris* 96: *deponunt flores aut suave rubens narcissus* with *Ecl.* 3, 63: *munera sunt lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus*). The use of diaeresis in the two poems is virtually the same (pp. 50 ff.). They agree in occasionally permitting diaeresis in the second foot — a license that later became anathema to Virgil. *Ciris* is more like the later Virgil than is *Culex* in its use of the monosyllable at the end of the line (as may be gathered from the examples cited in pp. 55-57). On the style in general, the writer (p. 60) justly remarks, as Naeke (p. 237) had remarked before: *sermonem Ciris elegantiore quam Culicis esse neque tot locis rudibus atque malis abundare*. This is what we should expect if *Culex* is the earlier, *Ciris* the maturer, work.

³ For this much of my argument — no more — I may appeal to Reitzenstein,

like to have done once for all with poetry, to which he has been devoted in the past. Giving it a final fling, he turns no longer to the models on which he had formed his style at the age of sixteen, but after an intense preoccupation with the ideals of Catullus, he deliberately adapts his poetic manner to that of his new master.¹ Neo-Alexandrian dactylic hexameter as practised by Catullus is a type in itself, as distinct from the heroic verse of Lucretius and the author of the *Culex* as the conversational hexameter of Horace's satires is from the lyric hexameter of his odes and epodes. It is not more surprising that Virgil should have written both *Culex* and *Ciris* than that Horace proved adept in different types of the same verse. And notwithstanding the strange atmosphere of *Ciris*, continual flashes of the later Virgil warn us that its manner will not last. These "Virgilian" bits consist not merely in the lines and passages that Virgil incorporated, with or without modification, in his later poems; others, likewise, have the right swing.² These, indeed, we should expect to occur in a genuine work of his; a mere imitator could not have invented them. In a word, the *Ciris* is the product of a peculiar period in Virgil's development. It reflects his interest in science, which, strongest in his youth, colored his temperament throughout his life. It also shows how profoundly

Hermes, xlviii (1913), 250 ff., who detects in the poem the flavor of a *vita nuova*, a turning-point in a career (p. 255).

¹ Lucretius is not altogether forgotten in the *Ciris*; his influence appears particularly in the introduction, where the poet pledges his loyalty to science.

² For a preliminary survey, one may take the list given by Miss Eldridge, *op. cit.*, p. 60 to illustrate the *elegantior sermo* of the *Ciris*; it includes some of the verses repeated in Virgil's later works. Though every reader prefers his own selection, the verses here cited suffice to prove that their author was master of his art. One blemish of the poem may also be noted here, on account of its very Virgilian character. In describing Scylla's unwitting act of sacrilege at the ceremony in honor of Juno, the poet says, vv. 142 f.: *dum sacris operata deae lascivit et extra | procedit longe matrum comitumque catervam*. The reader is instantly and unpleasantly reminded of Lucretius's unapproachable lines (1, 72 f.): *ergo vivida vis animo pervicit, et extra | processit longe flammantia moenia mundi*. There is a striking parallel to this infelicity in the *Aeneid*. Aeneas greets Dido in the world below with the words spoken by Berenice's lock in Catullus's poem (66, 39): *invita o regina tuo de vertice cessi (invitus regina tuo de litore cessi: Aen. 6, 460)*. The Verona scholiast on *Aen.* 10, 557 remarks that Virgil *neque temporis neque loci habet curam* in his imitations. It may be that the vice of intention obtains in neither case. My point is that they show a strikingly similar defect, whether of memory or of taste.

he had been imbued with the spirit of Catullus. And it prophesies the turn that his own genius was to take.

The question of the date of the poem remains. As Virgil came to Rome about 52 B.C., we may plausibly assign the year 50 as the earliest appropriate date of the *Ciris*. Though the work was finished when science had taken possession of him, he may have spent part of his purely Catullan period on the body of the work. He may well have devoted some three or four years in all to its composition, emulating the careful method of Helvius Cinna and his nine years' pondered lay on a similar story of filial impiety.¹ There is no reason why a poem could not have been dedicated to Messalla in or about 50 B.C. He was nearly of Virgil's age at the time,² and evidently had given promise of the eminence in oratory and letters that he later attained; in 43 B.C., Cicero lauds his eloquence to the skies.³ It is not necessary to connect the poem with Messalla's later career, for instance with the triumph that he celebrated for his victory over the Aquitanians in 27 B.C.; indeed, there are grave objections to assuming that Virgil wrote a poem like the *Ciris* so late in life. That was not the time for a somewhat youthful panegyric of science — after the full flung challenge to

¹ The name of the nurse, Carme, is taken from Cinna's *Smyrna*, and there may well be a good bit of imitation of that poem elsewhere in the *Ciris*. See Heinze, *Virgil's Epische Technik* (1908²), p. 126, note. Virgil's admiration of the *Smyrna*, or at least of Cinna's work in general, is obvious from *Ecl.* 9, 35 f.

² According to St. Jerome, a notoriously slippery source on dates, Messalla was born in 59 B.C. Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 222 gives the date, with a question-mark, as 64 B.C. Schanz, § 215 omits the question-mark. The date 64 B.C. is deduced mainly from St. Jerome's (likewise uncertain) statement of Messalla's age at the time of his death. Scaliger, in his note on St. Jerome, argues for 70 B.C. as the year of Messalla's birth. Drachmann (*Nord. Tidssk., loc. cit.* p. 71) would assign the poem to the year 45, on the assumption that Messalla was born in 64. But he also feels that the characteristics of the piece, especially in relation to the art of the *Bucolics*, demand a date nearer to 50 B.C. He therefore is inclined to infer that it is dedicated to some other Messalla. I should prefer to accept, with Scaliger, an earlier date for Messalla's birth. If that fell, let us say, halfway between that of his intimate friends Horace and Virgil, he would be seventeen or eighteen in 50 B.C. — not too young for the meed of praise given him in the *Ciris*. Lads were well educated in those days. Virgil wrote his *Culex* at sixteen. We can get a bit more leeway by assuming 48 B.C. as the date: I can see no arguments against it.

³ *Ad Brutum*, I, 15, 1.

Lucretius made in the *Georgics*.¹ I doubt also whether at that time Virgil would have felt like refurbishing an earlier epyllion in his long-since discarded Catullan manner.

V

AETNA

The philosophical achievement to which the poet of the *Ciris* looked forward perhaps lies before us in the *Aetna*. The Virgilian authorship of this work was doubted in antiquity, or at least in the early Middle Ages, though possibly not by Donatus himself. Indeed, both Donatus and Servius may be cited as witnesses to the Virgilian authorship. Later in the Middle Ages, Vincent of Beauvais appears among the higher critics.² The theme of the poem, the nature of volcanoes, does not appeal to most modern readers of *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* as Virgilian.

We can at least limit the date of the poem to the period between the year 55 B.C., the death of Lucretius, whose influence in the work is patent, and 79 A.D., when the great eruption of Vesuvius, not mentioned in the poem, occurred. Almost everybody who wielded a pen between these dates has been cited as a possible author of the poem — Quintilius Varus, Cornelius Severus, Ovid, Augustus, Manilius, Seneca, Lucilius Junior, the elder Pliny, the younger Pliny,³ and even beyond the bounds of this period, Claudian.⁴ Present opinion inclines

¹ Vollmer (*Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), 364 ff.) would conclude, as I am tempted to conclude, that the body of the *Ciris* may have been written before the present form of the poem was finished. But he would place the *Ciris* between the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* mainly because of the character of the coincidences. This is treacherous ground. Vollmer thinks that the introduction was written in 27 B.C.

² *Spec. Hist.* 6, 62.

³ By A. Kraemer, *Berl. Philol. Woch.*, 1913, 139.

⁴ For a review of the diverse opinions, see J. Vessereau, *Aetna*. Paris (1905), xi ff., xx ff. The starting point for many suggestions is a letter of Seneca to his friend Lucilius (*Epost.* 79), to whom Seneca attributes the intention of writing a poem on Aetna. The tone of the exhortation is a bit jocose (cf. 7: aut ego te non novi aut Aetna tibi salivam movet). Lucilius has been going the rounds of Sicily, and is about to report his observations in a letter to Seneca. The latter is anxious to learn the truth about Charybdis (1), and calls likewise for an investigation of Aetna (2: Si haec mihi perscripseris, tunc tibi audebo mandare, ut in honorem

to an anonymous writer of the age of Nero. It is a daring act of heresy to suggest Virgil once more. And yet, though Virgil would hardly have devoted a poem to natural science at the time when he wrote his later works, it is precisely the subject that would appeal to him in the brief period when he had turned from the glamour of letters to sterner training under Siro the Epicurean. For Epicureans of the type of Lucretius and the young Virgil were more interested in the physical laboratory than in roses and wine.¹

The text of the poem presents peculiar difficulties. It bristles with unsolved and perhaps unsolvable problems that have spurred great scholars like Scaliger, Munro and Ellis to heroic deeds of exegesis and emendation.² Curiously, the manuscript sources are more abundant than those for the *Ciris*, which, on the whole, is an easier document to read. Besides the two groups of Z, the younger branch, we have the Cantabrigiensis, s. X, the Stabulensis, s. X, the Excerpta, s. XI, and for lines 138–287, the readings of a lost manuscript used by Gyraldus. Most scholars regard this last-named source as the most important of all for the portion for which it is preserved; but Ellis, following Alzinger, raised certain doubts not easy to be downed.³ We are forced, I think, to the conclusion postulated by Vollmer,⁴ that the text of all the

meum Aetnam quoque adscendas). I see no certain proof from this letter that Lucilius wrote anything on Aetna. He was apparently at work on some sort of a poem pertaining to Sicily, and Seneca hopes that he may bring in Aetna (5: Aetnam describas in tuo carmine et hunc solemnem omnibus poetis locum adtingas: quem quo minus Ovidius tractaret, nihil obstitit, quod iam Vergilius impleverat. Ne Severum quidem Cornelium uterque deterruit).

¹ My idea is exactly expressed by B. Kruczkiewicz, *Poema Vergilio auctor; potissimum esse tribuendum demonstrabat*, in *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania* (Univ. of Cracow), x (1884), 155: Ceterum cum etiam in dicendi genere Aetna auctor . . . medium quoddam tenet inter Lucretii atque maiora tria Vergilii carmina, facile adducor, ut credam ipsum Vergilium quondam recentis epicurae doctrinae materiam secutum fortius impugnasse fictas illas historias, priusquam aetas uitaeque usus impetum illum iuuenilem retardassent nimiumque studium temperassent.

² See Scaliger, *Pub. Virgilii Maronis Appendix — In eandem Appendicem Castigationes*, Leyden (ed. of 1595), p. 87: Nulli fere poemati magis nocuit, imo, ut ne quid dissimulem, nulli tantum nocuit vetustas.

³ *Aetna*, pp. lxx ff.

⁴ See above, pp. 111 f. On the verse of Aetna is cited in the *Exempla Diversorum Auctorum*, see Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), 349.

minor poems comes from a single book, though different groupings of the works were later made. This single text, furthermore, whether it was contained in a faded ancient codex or in an intermediate copy made in some puzzling script like the Irish cursive,¹ was full of errors that only the divining art of conjectural criticism can remove.

The writer of the *Aetna* starts off with an invocation to Phoebus, not too poetical a beginning for an imitator of Lucretius, who called Venus to aid him in the building of his philosophical verse. There is no touch here of the Augustan significance of Apollo, Octavian's patron-saint at Actium. Apollo is invoked as leader of the Muses, whose help is needful in a journey on the higher levels of thought. But they must be sure of the direction; their guide must lead the way.² The poet's theme is novel and modern — not the Golden Age, which some poets appear to know better than their own times, nor any of the stale fables which everyone has sung. Among these is included the tale of Ariadne abandoned on the barren shore; this looks like a glance at Catullus and the kind of poetry that the young philosopher himself had shortly before been writing. Such anti-mythological talk might seem unlike Virgil if there were not the same sort of thing in the *Culex* and the *Georgics*.³ The tone is milder, naturally, in these other passages. He perhaps would not later, or earlier, as here, call the poet's function the dissemination of false report. Yet Ovid blithely uses a similar phrase,⁴ and Lucretius, of course, likes to harp on the splendid lies that are fed

¹ The error of *furtim* for *euri* points to an archetype in rustic capitals. The right reading in the codex of Gyraldus is easy for an intelligent humanist to divine from the context. Another correct reading of G, likewise easily attained by emendation, is *unde* for *una* in v. 220. This suggests a misinterpretation of a parent manuscript containing the insular abbreviation *uñ* for *unde*. So far as I can see, the most plausible lineage to assume for the text of the minor poems, is (A) an ancient, and perhaps faded, MS. in rustic capitals; (B) a copy of A, in some Insular hand; (C) a copy of B and the parent of all our extant codices.

² The Virgilian character of this invocation and its similarity to that in the *Culex* has often been remarked. See S. Sudhaus, *Aetna. Erklärt.* Leipzig, (1898), p. 96. The Apollo of the *Culex*, as of the third *Georgic*, is the pastoral divinity.

³ See above, p. 116, note 1. Incidentally, would anybody have felt like calling the theme of *Aetna insolitum* in the age of Nero? To Seneca it is *sollemnis omnibus poetis locus*. See above, p. 155, note 4.

⁴ *Fasti* 1, 6, 253.

to mankind by poets and allegorists.¹ As early as Solon, in fact, a poet could declare of his brother-bards

πολλὰ ψεύδονται ᾠοῖδοι.²

However, the poet of the *Aetna* seems to speak out of the bitterness of a new experience; his words show the intensity of a youthful observer who has discovered that the utterances of Religion are not absolute truth. There are touches of a youthful irony in his account of the myth that he finds necessary to tell.³

The subject of the poem, doubtless inspired by the sixth book of Lucretius, is the real cause of volcanoes. Here is a matter in which the gods are not involved, for free from sordid cares, they dwell in the palaces of the sky and mind not our concerns; the poet, like Lucretius and the author of the *Ciris*, is of the school of Epicurus.⁴ This fact does not prevent him from taking a large part of his science from Posidonius;⁵ his goal is eclectic truth and not merely Epicurean theory. The tale of Vulcan and the Cyclopes and of the fate of Enceladus in the battle between gods and giants is an idle affair, our poet declares. He takes a certain pleasure in telling it, in very decent verse, only to cap the story with a vigorous denial of its veracity —

haec est mendosae volgata licentia famae.⁶

Most of the staging of life, he continues, is falsity. The poets have invented the realm of Pluto; they have pried into heaven itself and

¹ See 5, 405: *scilicet ut veteres Graium cecinere poetae*, which takes the pith out of the preceding story of Phaethon. The account of the rites of Ceres and their allegorical meaning, though flavored with an amount of ill-concealed interest, ends with a similar remark (2, 644). We have noted the same vein in *Ciris*: see above, p. 148, note 5.

² *Fgm.* 26 Hiller.

³ There is irony in the exclamatory *nefas* (v. 43) and in the description of the serpentine giant (vv. 46 f.).

⁴ Vv. 29 ff.

⁵ See Sudhaus's careful study, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff. He explains the striking coincidences between *Aetna* and Seneca, of which advocates of a later date for *Aetna* have made much, as due to the use of a common source. This may well be the case; I also see no reason why Seneca should not have borrowed directly from *Aetna*, especially if that be the work which, he says, *Vergilius impleverat*. See above, p. 155, note 4.

⁶ V. 74. This is exactly the fashion of Lucretius. See note 1.

recorded its scandals and its wars. That is well enough for poetry, but our present concern is truth — it would not be impossible, we feel, for our philosopher to turn to mere poetry again if occasion arose.

The true explanation of Aetna, we are told, is that air works into the crevices of the earth, induces fire by its action, and thus ignites and sets in motion masses of earth and stones, particularly the *lapis molaris* which constitutes its chief fuel. The treatment of this subject is characterized by clarity and a sense of balance.¹ It is constructed in a Virgilian fashion, with digressions or moral outbursts which effect an aesthetic relief from the somewhat arid theme.² The theme is high and difficult, the author asserts, but worthy of the dignity of man, who was born, not like the beasts to grovel in the earth, but to raise his head to the skies and to inquire proudly into the laws that govern the world — this noble passage has the flavor of both the *Georgics* and Lucretius.³ Scientific discovery is a rare and sacred pleasure, the veritable thrill of religious awe that the vision of raining atoms inspired in Lucretius — *divina est animi ac iucunda voluptas*.⁴

The ordinary pursuits of mankind are idle, the quest of gold in the veins of the earth, or the farmer's struggle for fertile soil and bursting crops and lusty herds, with the ignoble lure of wealth ever in the foreground. This disillusioned picture of the agricultural career suggests the toils of Lucretius's unhappy farmer rather than the cheerful gospel of labor set forth in the *Georgics*, and yet the latter work contains an inconspicuous passage on that round of chores and calamities which justifies exasperation and prompts the wise maxim

laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito.⁵

Read this passage with no knowledge of its context, and you would think it came from a satire on farm life in the vein of *Aetna*.

¹ Vessereau, *op. cit.*, p. xlv.

² Kruczkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 ff. He justly remarks that there is more of the aesthetic flavor in the digressions of the *Georgics* and more moral purpose in those of the *Aetna* and Lucretius. This is what we should expect in a poem inspired on Lucretius and written before the *Georgics*.

³ *Georg.* 4, 6: in tenui labor, at non tenuis non gloria. Lucretius, 1, 62 ff.

⁴ Vv. 248 ff. Cf. *Lucr.* 3, 28: his ibi me rebus quaedam divina voluptas | percipit atque horror.

⁵ *Georg.* 2, 397.

The best cure for the ills of life, our author continues, is not sordid farming, but the cultivation of the richer soil of the intellect.¹ Learn of science the secret of Aetna, and the fears of superstition flee apace.² Your wonder at the incredible will give way to wonder at the true. Why go afar to visit the temples of fictitious gods, the fabled walls of Thebes, Sparta and its sacred band, Athens, loved of Minerva? Science can show you better marvels near at hand, more thrilling than the ashes of Troy or ruined Pergamon, or the beauties of Greek art — Aphrodite of the dripping locks, Medea's children unsuspectingly at play, Agamemnon veiled for the sacrifice of his own daughter, the living glory of Myron and a thousand other works, which you wander over lands and seas to gaze upon. There is a bit of epic in the poet's descriptions, especially in the lines on Troy. His appeal to the beauty or the marvelousness of the commonplace and the near is a familiar strain in Horace³ and Virgil,⁴ and is caught by both of them from Lucretius.⁵ This is not the Stoic contempt of art, else the poet would not speak of the *gloria viva Myronis*; his real censure is not of the enjoyment of art but of the indifference to nature.

The poem ends, as the last book of Lucretius ends, with an episode. During an eruption of Aetna, everybody was hastily carrying off his dearest possessions, one groaning under gold, one loading his stupid neck with swords, and one staggering under the weight of his poems — a terrible satire on the Muses, of whom our author, we saw, is the lasting foe. All these greedy folk were overtaken by the hot lava, but Amphion and his brother, catching up their best treasures, their aged parents, brought them through the flames, which yielded at their approach; science apparently has room for a few miracles. The poet exclaims, in words recalling one of the mystic raptures of the *Ciris*,

felix illa dies, illa est innoxia terra.⁶

Filial devotion like that shall live forever and bards shall sing its praise — there seems to be a use for the poet after all.

¹ Vv. 274 ff.

³ *Carm.* 1, 7.

² Vv. 279 ff.

⁴ *Georg.* 2, 136 ff.

⁵ 2, 1026 ff., on the miracles of the heavens and all that in them is, which for most people fade into the common light of day. The sense of wonder comes to expression in *Aetna* in v. 156.

⁶ V. 637. Cf. *Ciris*, 27 f.

This little work is primarily a Lucretian affair, with Lucretian attitudes and catch-phrases, but its author is not a profound scientist; Humboldt¹ thought him a bit obvious. He is also, as we have seen, no rigid Epicurean. Like the author of the *Ciris*, he is more tolerant and eclectic than Lucretius; he speaks of "the truest words of the book obscure" of Heraclitus,² whereas Lucretius charged Heraclitus with using obscure words to conceal poverty of thought.³ We see the same spirit at work as in the *Ciris* — that of a youthful thinker, who starts his philosophical wanderings in the garden of Epicurus,⁴ but soon builds him a high tower on the foundations of all four schools.⁵ For all that, the flavoring of the poem is rather Epicurean than anything else, notwithstanding the borrowings from Posidonius and others, for the reason that it is so penetrated with Lucretius.⁶

That the poem was written not long after the death of Lucretius may possibly be inferred from certain incidental allusions.⁷ In the passage in which the wonders of nature are exalted above those of art, several well-known works of art are described — the painting of Venus Anadyomene by Apelles, the Medea of Timomachus, the Iphigenia of Timanthes, and the bronze cow of Myron.⁸ When Cicero wrote the Verrine orations,⁹ the Venus was at Cos, the Medea at Cyzicus, and the cow at Athens. The cow was brought to Rome sometime after this date, 70 B.C., and before the reign of Antoninus Pius.¹⁰ The Venus was taken from Cos by Augustus and put up in the temple of Caesar.¹¹

¹ *Kosmos*, (ed. of 1847), ii, 21. See also Vessereau, pp. xliii ff.

² V. 538.

⁴ *Ciris*, 3.

³ I, 638.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vv. 15 ff.

⁶ I cannot follow Sudhaus in calling our poet a Stoic (p. ix, etc.). The different varieties of what he calls the bitterness of the Stoic diatribe may be found in Lucretius. L. Alzinger, *Studia in Aetnam collata*, Lipsiae (1896), pp. 3 ff., has an excellent collection of parallels with Lucretius; see also pp. 35 ff. Several additions might be made, e. g., the intransitive use of *turbare*; cf. v. 168 and Lucr. 2, 126.

⁷ The only testimony of like nature that indicates a later date is the allusion to certain hydraulic devices (vv. 294, 297 ff., 328), of which descriptions exist in post-Augustan writers. See e. g., C. Catholy, *De Aetnae Aetate*, Gryphiae (1908), p. 15. But these devices were certainly known in the year 50 B.C. also. See Alzinger, *Blätter f. d. bayer. Gymnasialsch.*, xxxvi (1900), 649 ff.

⁸ Vv. 594 ff. See Alzinger, *Studia*, etc., pp. 45 ff.; Ellis's notes on vv. 593 ff.

⁹ 4, 60, 135.

¹⁰ See Kruczkiewicz, p. 157.

¹¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35, 91.

The Medea was bought by Julius Caesar and put up in the temple of Venus Genetrix.¹ Here we have a very definite date, between the years 46 B.C., when the temple was dedicated, and 44 B.C., when Caesar was put to death. Kruczkiewicz² was the first to point out that the date of the poem could not be later than the Augustan age, and Alzinger³ that it preceded the transfer of the Medea to Rome in the period between 46 and 44 B.C. The lines in the *Aetna* could scarcely have been written after the Medea was a familiar object in Rome. An American writing today would not say to New Yorkers, "Why cross the ocean to see the chariot of Mother Cybele when you can behold on this side the greater wonder of Niagara Falls?" at a time when the chariot of Mother Cybele is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum. Advocates of a later date for the *Aetna* have brushed aside this argument by taking the poet's apostrophe as addressed not to Romans or Sicilians but to mankind in general;⁴ but the repeated emphasis on *crossing the seas* to visit foreign scenes is too plain.⁵

Another mode of attack is to declare the description too general to be associated with particular works of art. Such is probably the impression of anybody who reads the passage for the first time; one does not feel disposed to limit the *gloria viva Myronis* to his cow. But the writer is concerned with popular masterpieces. He may not have studied Greek art in the country of its makers,⁶ but is rather following some traditional statement like that in the *Verrines*, which Cicero would not have lugged in had it meant nothing to his hearers. So Ovid⁷ selects as typical subjects in art, Ajax (also the subject of a noted painting by Timomachus), Medea and Venus Anadyomene.⁸

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35, 136.

² P. 158.

³ *Studia*, p. 46.

⁴ P. R. Wagler, *Berliner Studien f. klass. Philol. in Arch.*, i (1884), 557. E. Herr, *De Aetnae Carminis Sermone*, Marburg (1911), p. 2.

⁵ Cf. vv. 571 (*traducti maria*) and 600 (*haec visenda pulas terrae dubiusque marisque*), the latter immediately after the description of the works of art.

⁶ Virgil might possibly have been in Greece in his youth, as *Catal.* 13 speaks of travels by sea. See above, p. 139. Horace's *propempticon* (*Carm.* 1, 3) written at a later time, refers to a voyage to Greece that Virgil at least had some thought of taking.

⁷ *Trist.* 2, 525.

⁸ Authorities like Haupt and Brunn agree on the identification of the works of art described in *Aetna*. See Alzinger, *Studia*, p. 45.

Another solution suggested¹ is that the author of the poem is copying sources, not writing from life; his source was composed before the period 46-44 B.C., and he blindly incorporates it. This argument really admits the main point in Alzinger's contention, only that it presupposes a writer of exceeding woodenness of soul, of the character that the traditional *Quellenforscher* imputes to most subjects of his analyses. Our poet, whatever his feelings, has not sunk to such a depth. If in our hypothesized American production, the writer had cribbed his lines on Mother Cybele from a poet of fifty years ago, the result would seem doubly inept. Let us credit the author of the *Aetna* with a minimum of common sense.

Still another view is that all the works alluded to might have been in Rome when the passage was written. The author is presenting well-known types, and for this reason selects specimens that his readers had seen with their own eyes.² But cultivated readers, as the passage in the *Verrines* proves, knew these particular specimens before they were actually brought to Rome. I still think it incredible, if they were there, that a writer should take them and not other works as examples of what one makes long journeys to see.

Another bit of contemporary evidence is perhaps furnished by the history of the volcano. No eruption is recorded between the years 122 and 50 B.C., and none between 32 B.C. and 40 A.D. Between 50 and 32 B.C., however, there were four vigorous eruptions, in 50, 44, 38, and 32.³ The first of these, after seventy-two years of quiet in *Aetna*, would have been a considerable, not to say an ominous event in the Roman world. It might have roused young Virgil, who, by our hypothesis, had finished, or was writing, the *Ciris* and was longing for a proper inspiration from Science. The following eruption in 44 B.C., which portended the death of Julius Caesar, certainly appealed to the poet's imagination.⁴

On the style of *Aetna*, the oracles have spoken diversely. Munro, no mean judge, declared that the work had no claim to be Virgil's,⁵ and

¹ Catholy, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

² Sudhaus, p. 82.

³ Alzinger, *Studia*, pp. 46 ff.

⁴ *Georg.* I, 471 ff.

⁵ *Aetna*, p. 32.

that the style is exactly that of Lucan.¹ Scaliger, also no mean judge, considered the style Augustan.² Sudhaus, in his valuable edition asserts that the author has not passed through the school of Ovid.³ Ellis balances what he calls the only two possible datings — one shortly after Virgil's death, the other in the Silver Age — without rendering a decision;⁴ he is certain only that the work is not pre-Virgilian.⁵ But some there are, with whom I concur, who find it, we will not say pre-Virgilian, but pre-Bucolic. They see nothing in the style that does not comport with the usage of 50-45 B.C.⁶

The latest and most elaborate study of the style of the *Aetna* is by E. Herr.⁷ The author has collected his material, which is sometimes valuable, with industry, but the dissertation as a whole is a good specimen of sham science, built up of irrelevant details, multitudinous categories and illegitimate conclusions. The first heading is *De hyperbato coniunctionum*, and the first topic discussed under it is *particulae et liberior collocatio*. Five instances are given of postpositive *et*; e. g., v. 59: *impius et miles . . . provocat*. But the reading, or the interpretation, in two of these passages (vv. 133, 164) is doubtful, and in another (v. 140), as Herr admits, *et* may have the force of *etiam*. The statement is then made, after Haupt, that Virgil has only forty-three such instances in all, and only two in the second *Georgic*, which the writer has selected for comparison with the *Aetna*.⁸ Horace is declared to be bolder in his use of the postpositive *et*, and Manilius very fond of it. *Videmus igitur hac in re Aetnae auctorem Vergilium longe superare, propius ad Horatii proxime ad Manilii consuetudinem accedere*.⁹ The proper conclusion is, that this section of the argument is worthless. So says Herr himself later;¹⁰ he declares that the evidence not only of postpositive *et* but of *neque*, *sed* and *namque* is

¹ *Aetna*, p. 34. It is little short of amazing that the noted editor of Lucretius should not have appreciated the Lucretian coloring of *Aetna*.

² *Pub. Virgilii Maronis Appendix* (1595), p. 86. He quotes Seneca and ascribes the work, which he highly esteems, to Cornelius Severus.

³ P. 93.

⁵ P. xxxiii.

⁴ P. xlvii.

⁶ Vessereau, pp. xviii ff.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, above, p. 162, note 4.

⁸ As we are playing with statistics, we should not forget that this book, treated by Herr as an equivalent amount, is only five-sixths of the size of *Aetna*.

⁹ P. 7.

¹⁰ P. 8.

inconclusive — "*tamen omittere nolui.*" This beginning does not impress us with the writer's power of suppressing the non-essential.

Let us turn to evidence that he regards as serious, the substantival use of neuter adjectives. His first announcement is:¹ *Demonstratur in Aetna hunc usum saepius inveniri quam apud optimos.* There follow 58 instances of the usage found in the *Aetna*, one in Catullus, 21 in the second *Georgic*, and 57 in the first book of Manilius. The inference, obvious to an arithmetically trained mind, is that substantival neuter adjectives for brevity I will call them neuter substantives were a rarity before Virgil, came in with him, and were plentifully developed by Manilius, whose tendency is also illustrated in the *Aetna*. I can help this case a bit, on the principle of proportionate representation. As there are 542 lines in the second *Georgic*, 646 in the *Aetna*, 926 in the first book of Manilius, the number of substantival neuter adjectives in the *Georgics* being 21, the proportionate number for Manilius would be 33 and for the *Aetna* 48; this reckoning might get the *Aetna* down to the time of Pliny, where Herr would like to put it.

But we must apply other analyses. If we count not the number of instances of any substantival neuter adjective, whether repeated or not, but the number of different neuter substantives, we find 19 in the *Georgics*, 38 in Manilius, and 37 in the *Aetna*. This reckoning puts *Aetna* and Manilius together, being the proportionate figures 19, 22, and 32. Furthermore, in seven of the passages in the *Aetna*, (involving seven substantival neuter adjectives), the reading is uncertain or other interpretation is possible.² If we rule these cases out, there remains no noticeable difference in style between the *Aetna* and the other two works. More than this, Herr fails to note one of the most important elements in the question. He does not record the testimony of an author generally reckoned *inter optimos*, namely Lucretius. At least ten of the thirty-eight substantival neuter adjectives of the *Aetna* occur in Lucretius,³ seven of these reappearing in Virgil. Ten more

¹ P. 33.

² See Ellis and Vollmer on *abscondita*, 409 *hausti*, 411 *tutum*, 458 *haud equidem mirum*, 463 *ictaque*, 466 *collis*, 638 *dextera*.

³ *Altum*, *cava*, *falsum*, *imum*, *malum*, *plenum*, *profundum*, *solidum*, *tantum*, *totum*. The Italicized words are also found in *Buc.*, *Georg.*, or *Aen.* *Cava* occurs in *Culex*.

are found in the accepted works of Virgil,¹ and one in the *Ciris*.² Those remaining, nine in number, are *aridiora*, *in artum*, *in breve* (*brevia*, *brevibus* are in Virgil), *cari*, *in commune*, *declivia*, *in inclusis* (*incluso*), *in occulto*, *singula* (!).

But let us put Lucretius to another test, of the kind applied by Herr to the other works. Taking the first 542 lines of Book 1, the equivalent of the second *Georgic*, I count no less than 79 cases. On this scoring, it would be natural for Herr to welcome Lucretius, likewise, to the *entourage* of the elder Pliny. Preferring another kind of analysis, and counting now the different substantival neuter adjectives, I find 28,³ virtually the number noted in the *Aetna*. This apparently curious result is due to the fact that Lucretius, who up to v. 329 has 11 varieties and only 16 instances of substantival neuter adjectives, now begins to talk about the *inane*; he adds 17 varieties and 63 instances in the remainder of the passage.

In brief, the above evidence comports with the assumption that Virgil wrote the *Aetna* not long after Lucretius, and before the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. His use of neuter substantives agrees in the main with that in the *De Rerum Natura* and in his own later works. Being a writer of individuality, he uses some expressions that he does not elsewhere use, just as in the second *Georgic* we find some rather striking cases not found in his other works or in Lucretius.⁴

As for Manilius, some of the substantives recorded by Herr occur in the accepted works of Virgil,⁵ some are Lucretian,⁶ some are the

¹ *Augusta*, *densum*, *in longum*, *multis*, *in obliquum*, *per omnia*, *parva*, *proxima*, *rapta* (*raptis Aet.*, *rapto Aen.*), *in tenui*. Herr remarks on *in tenui* (p. 35): hoc adiectivum Aetnae auctor solus substantive usurpasse videtur. He will find it in *Georg.* 4, 6.

² *Insolitum*.

³ *Bina*, *clausa*, *coeptum*, *coniunctum*, *culta*, *deserta*, *diversa*, *gravius*, *inane* (*inania*), *omne* (*omnia*), *multa*, *nulla*, *pingui*, *de pleno*, *prima*, *quantum*, *reperita*, *saepta*, *solidi*, *strata*, *sublimia*, *tantum*, *tantundem*, *totum*, *unum*, *vacans*, *vacuum*, *verum*. On *ex pleno*, Herr observes (p. 35): hoc enim apud classicos non exstare videtur: apud Plinium accusativum huius adiectivi saepius legimus. Lucretius's *de pleno* is much more to the point.

⁴ *Longinqua Tarenti*, *iusto laetior*, *in teneris*, *in plano*, *per purum*, *exiguo*.

⁵ *In adversum*, *convexa*, *contraria*, *diversa*, *extrema*, *media*, *serenum*, *summum*, *supremum*.

⁶ *Altum*, *in commune bonum*, *imum*, *inane* (*inania*), *minimum*, *omne*, *profundum*, *ultima*.

veriest commonplaces, used by almost any writer.¹ There are but six not found in the other works under discussion. Two of these are in the verses: ² *frigida nec calidis* (in Lucretius) *desint aut umida siccis* (in Virgil) | *spiritus aut solidis* (in Lucretius and Virgil). The remaining four are *acclivia*, *in longius*, *ex simili* and *vulgata*. The only substantival neuter adjectives found also in the *Aetna*, which is supposed to “congruere accurate” with the Manilius, are: *in breve* (*brevia* in *Aeneid*), *declivia*, *in longum* (in *Ecl.*), *per obliquum* (*in obliquum* in *Aetna* and *Georgics*), *per omnia* (in *Aeneid*), *parvis* (general), *singula* (!). This is about what we should expect from Manilius. Both he and the author of the *Aetna* find a fairly large number of neuter substantives necessary in their technical subjects, but while Manilius plods on in beaten tracks, the poet of *Aetna*, like the poet of the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, creates.

The history of the substantival use of the neuter adjective is a profitable matter for investigation, but nothing whatever can be learned about it from the method pursued by Herr. I have gone through others of his categories with similar care, but one specimen is enough. His effort, easily accomplished by his plan, is to align the style of the *Aetna* with that of the elder Pliny, whom Birt, by a curious lapse of taste, had suggested some years ago as the author of the poem.³ This dissertation, like that of Holtschmidt on the *Culex*, does little credit to the author of *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils*.

Another elaborate production of the school of Birt is devoted to the metre of the *Aetna* by J. Franke.⁴ His starting-point is Birt's classification of the dactylic hexameter into six forms according to the caesurae employed. In F(orm) I, the masculine caesura in the third foot is found, either with or without a supplementary trithemimeral or hepthemimeral caesura. In F II, there are only the trithemimeral and

¹ *Cuncta, magna, maiora, omnia, sua, talia, tanta, tantum.*

² Vv. 141 f.

³ See *Philologus*, lvii (1898), 607 ff. Herr's study of parataxis (pp. 62 ff.) reaches the conclusion that the manner of *Aetna* agrees to a T with that of the elder Pliny. What is *breviloquentia Pliniana* to the school of Birt, Naeke called *antiqua simplicitas*. The peculiarities discussed by Herr may be found either in Catullus (e. g., see above, p. 150, note 3), or, as he sufficiently shows, in Virgil himself.

⁴ *Res Metrica Aetnae Carminis*, Marburg, 1898.

hepthemimeral caesurae. In F III, besides these two, there is a feminine caesura after the third trochee. In F IV, there is a caesura after the third trochee and also a hepthemimeral caesura. In F V, a caesura after the third trochee is preceded by a trithemimeral. In F VI, only the caesura after the third trochee is found. The most desirable forms, according to Birt, are F I and F III.

The writer sums up his results in three lists. The first contains seventeen points in which the metre of the *Aetna* is declared superior to that of the *Georgics*,¹ the second has fourteen points of inferiority, and the third, sixteen points of general similarity. The conclusion, which smacks of the arithmetical flavor relished by the pupils of Birt, is that the *Aetna* was written after the *Georgics*.

As in matters of style, some of these supposed metrical habits deserve a closer analysis than the counting of their occurrences. Certain of them, the writer admits, are of minor importance. Among the metrical superiorities of the *Aetna*, there are eleven to which he attaches special significance. I will examine two of these, by way of illustration. No. 1 is thus stated.

"1. Forma II exstat in *Aetna* semel in vv. 80 $\frac{3}{4}$, in *Georg. I* in vv. 36 $\frac{3}{4}$; F II: F III in *Aetna* 1: 10 $\frac{7}{8}$, 1: 3 $\frac{5}{7}$ in *Georg. I*."

Form II, we learned from Birt, is an inferior form. *Ergo*, the *Georgics* is inferior, which has it twice as often as *Aetna*. But surely this is no defect of the *Georgics*; rather we see the hand of the master who consciously varies his effects. We are not surprised to find that *Aetna* is surpassed in the supposed virtue only by that sublime artist Avienus, who attains the proportion of 1 in 235 vv.)²

Another "superiority" of *Aetna* is its avoidance of hiatus. The proportion is 1 in 646 verses, but in the first book of the *Georgics*, 1 in 85 $\frac{2}{3}$. In other words, there is but one case of hiatus in the *Aetna*, the rough verse

hospitium fluvium, aut semita, nulla profecto.³

In the first *Georgic*, there are six cases. In two, the hiatus occurs in verses containing Greek names,⁴ a device of which Virgil is fond and

¹ P. 45.

² P. 14.

³ V. 129. The hiatus is emended away by most recent editors.

⁴ Vv. 221, 437.

which he introduced into his verse as early as the *Ciris*.¹ The first of these has a spondee in the fifth foot — a rare occurrence in Virgil. In Virgil, metrical exceptions never rain but they pour. So in v. 281, there is another hiatus in the middle of the line; it helps in slowing the pace of the verse to that of the action. A similarly effective hiatus occurs at the beginning of the poem, a place which the poet certainly did not leave unfinished. The breaking in of the hiatus in v. 4 both prevents the introductory list from becoming monotonous, and serves, by the necessary pause, to emphasize the topic that caps the poet's climax — the story of the bees. On more case remains, v. 341:

tum pingues agni et tum mollissima vina,
tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae.

I submit that a reader who finds any defect here has not attuned his ear to the subtle music of Virgil's hexameters. The way to treat his discords is not to catalogue them as eccentricities, but to note how they are resolved into some larger harmony.

Other points adduced by Franke, particularly the matter of elision, deserve a similar scrutiny. Many of his collections are valuable. The conclusion to draw from them, I believe, is that the metre of the *Aetna* resembles that of the *Georgics* and the *Bucolics*, but is the work of a less practised hand. This result tallies with our hypothesis that *Aetna* was written before the *Bucolics*, and by the same writer.²

¹ 474: Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo (*Aen.* 3, 74). This habit, so far as I can ascertain is one of Virgil's inventions. Catullus is fond of ending a line with a spondaic Greek name (e. g., 64, 3, 11, 28, 36, 74, 79, 96, 252, 358), and Virgil picks up this manner in *Ciris* (73, 113, 239, 326, 413, 486), sometimes having the same name, as *Amphitrite*, 73, Cat. 11). Hiatus is first introduced in such a line in v. 474. Virgil liked the effect, and in the later poems where he gave art free rein, he has a number of these verses. One of the earliest examples, and one of the best, is *Ecl.* 2, 24: Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho. There are no cases in *Culex* — another sign that this poem is not the work of a later imitator, who might well have shown by a touch or two that he understood the refinements of the Virgilian hexameter; Ovid, at least, has understood (cf. e. g., *Met.* 2, 244; 4, 535). Lucretius uses Greek names when he has to, but he does not roll them under his tongue, like that blessed word Mesopotamia, in the fashion of the Neoterics and of their perfecter, Virgil. Lucretius has no combinations of Greek names, spondees and hiatus.

² For excellent remarks on the verse of *Aetna*, see Vessereau, p. xlviii.

As has been hinted in the foregoing paragraphs, the Virgilian element in *Aetna* is only less prominent than the Lucretian.¹ The poem opens in a manner resembling the first *Georgic* or the third. Not long thereafter we come upon an admirably hissing line describing a snake:²

squameus intortos sinuat vestigia serpens.

Proper names are woven into a line, but not yet with the full Virgilian skill.³ There is good poetry in the account of the soldier's battle with the stars.⁴ There is good climax, a particularly Virgilian quality, in the line, and the word that closes the line, at the end of a lengthy simile,⁵

exilit atque furens tota vomit igneus Aetna.

A passage, cited by editors of Ovid for the similarity of the matter, presents no less striking a contrast in manner:⁶ It is a thoroughly Virgilian bit, Virgil somewhat in the raw, one of the bear-cubs not licked into shape.⁷ The passage has no touch of the easy elegance of Ovid's lines.⁸

We have, therefore, in different guise, the problem of the *Ciris* again; Catullus and Virgil, with a touch of Lucretius, too, were mingled in that poem, Lucretius and Virgil, with only a reminiscence of Catullus,⁹ in this. Instead of pointing in either case to the work of a later imitator of Virgil, the evidence, for aught that I have observed, permits us to assume that Virgil wrote both poems under the spell of different influences but in the same period of his career. The *Ciris* marks the beginning of that period; he is paying his farewell to poetry, poetry of Catullus's style, and longing for the day when he can achieve a *De Rerum Natura*. The *Aetna* marks the moment when that wish is fulfilled, as well as it could be then. Yet for all his immaturity, for all his

¹ Kruczkiewicz discusses the similarity in subject-matter (p. 155 ff.), and in various detail of style (pp. 160 ff.). Alzinger's collections are also most valuable (pp. 3 ff.); they contain references to the minor poems as well as to the greater.

² V. 47. See above, p. 117, note 1.

³ See v. 49.

⁴ Vv. 51 ff.

⁵ V. 329. For similar climax, see *Ciris*, 272.

⁶ Vv. 359 ff.

⁷ *Vita Donatiana*, 6, 81, Brummer.

⁸ Ovid *Met.* 15, 340 ff. See Sudhaus, p. 93; Vessereau, p. xlvi.

⁹ V. 21.

studied aversion to rhetoric, the call to poetry is audible enough.¹ This impulse succeeds here and there in brushing away the scientific manner which young Virgil has now appropriately assumed, exactly as he had worn the mantle of Catullus in the *Ciris*. There is a maturer quality in the present poem. The poet's revolt from the singers of Euphoriion, his very determination to have done with poetry give a Lucretian strength and dignity to his lines.

Thus the old quarrel between philosophy and poetry, not settled by Lucretius, took possession of Virgil's mind. He thought he had found his career — to prove a second Lucretius. The *Aetna* is the final memorial of his scientific period. Every youth of imagination goes through some telling intellectual experience which he afterwards looks back upon with kindly amusement — an Hegelian period, a Walter Pater period, a Symbolistic period. Such experiences are educating; they teach developing genius what its goal is not. Virgil had not yet known what was in him; he had not seen that science was a subordinate element in his vision of life. He soon was to discover himself. And yet, though poetry triumphed in the end, science was not wholly routed. Touches of his youthful passion for science appear in all of Virgil's greater works. He had intended, on returning from his last and fatal voyage to Greece, to devote the remainder of his days to philosophy.² Mr. Santayana, in his brilliant essay on Lucretius,³ remarks, 'Imagine a poet who, to the freedom and simplicity of Homer, should have added the more reverent idealism of a later age. . . . Rationalized paganism might have had its Dante, a Dante who should have been the pupil not of Virgil and Aquinas, but of Homer and Plato.' There is more, perhaps, of Mr. Santayana's programme in the *Aeneid* than he has here conceded. At any rate, had Virgil's dream come true, he would have given the world a new *De Rerum Natura*, built, in the main, on Plato.

¹ Vessereau, p. xlvi. Sudhaus, p. 93, remarks: "Alle diese Eigentümlichkeiten des Stils zeigen nun, wie sich der Dichter bemüht, die breite, bequeme Art des Lucrez durch gedrungene Diction und körnige Kürze zu überholen, ohne sich von ihm loslösen zu können." I should rather say that his object was to hold fast to Lucretius but that he obeyed perforce the workings of his own temperament.

² *Vita Donatiana*, 8, 125: ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret.

³ *Three Philosophical Poets. Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe.* (1910), p. 63 ff.

Vessereau, whose discussion of the problem of the *Aetna* is, in my opinion, unsurpassed,¹ stops short of attributing the work to Virgil.² He balks at associating its crudity with the perfection of the *Bucolics*, which were shortly to follow. The *Aetna*, he would agree, appeared between 50 and 44 B.C. The earliest of the *Bucolics* was written in 42.³ Regarding 50 or 48 as the approximate date of the *Ciris*, I am inclined to put *Aetna* not too long after it — say early in 48. Now great things can happen in four or five years at a period when a genius is coming to his own. Misdirected essays, while ultimately beneficial, momentarily do not head one towards the goal, but dammed for a time, the flow of poetry bursts with the greater suddenness when the barriers are removed. The subject of *Aetna*, like that of the *De Rerum Natura*, was not an easy one for poetry.⁴ Moreover, like master Lucretius, Virgil was doing his best not to be a poet. He did not, as later, lavish all the golden day to make ten lines wealthier in his readers' eyes. Given a golden day while he was writing the *Georgics*, he could have made the lines that I have cited as Virgilian⁵ as splendid as those that describe the pastoral storm.⁶

Further, we must look at the matter not only from the summit of Virgil's later achievement, but from the level that he had thus far attained. There is nothing in *Aetna*, I think Vessereau would admit, that the author of *Culex*, *Catalepton*, and *Ciris* might not have done. We have also to consider certain other pieces that fill in the stretch of years between *Aetna* and the *Bucolics* and make the transition easier to understand. Nor is it an absolute perfection that is reached in the *Bucolics*. There is something youthful even in that triumph — at least so it seemed to their author himself.⁷

¹ Only one scholar since Kruckiewicz, so far as I am aware, has come out unreservedly for the Virgilian authorship of *Aetna*; see F. Walter, in *Blätter f. das bayer. Gymnasialsch.*, xxxv (1899), 585 ff. Alzinger, *Studia*, p. 49, placed the poem before 44 B.C., and suggested, though with bated breath, that the ancient testimony to the Virgilian authorship may be confirmed by what the poem contains. That was heresy enough in the year 1896.

² Pp. xxxviii f.

³ *Vita Probiana*, 73, 12, Brummer: scripsit Bucolica annos natus viii et xx.

⁴ See Vessereau's remarks, p. xlvi.

⁵ See above, p. 170, note 6.

⁶ *Georg.* I, 316 ff.

⁷ *Georg.* 4, 565: carmina qui lusi pastorum audax . . . iuventa.

VI

THE EPIC ON RES ROMANAE

Thus far the spell of Catullus has prevailed. After *Culex*, the product of the poet's school days, comes a Catullan period with *Nugae* and an epyllion. This is followed by a philosophic or Lucretian period, of which the crowning effort is *Aetna*. Neither of these paths led to genuine success; both gave experience of value. Virgil's quest in life was for the real. He was a great artist and for the expression of his thought tolerated nothing but the best that he could fashion. But his art was not for the sake of art. He abandoned it in youth, when rhetoric seemed stale. He sought reality in science, but something within him called for a larger outlet. His thought now took a new turn. His biographer tells us that not long before the *Bucolics*, he planned an epic on Rome, but finding the subject difficult, abandoned it in disgust.¹

What the subject of the unfortunate epic was, we can only guess. Servius and Donatus, it seems, could do no better.² They find it either the *Aeneid*, doubtless meaning an early form of that work, or the deeds of the Alban kings; Virgil was diverted from the attempt, they gravely add, "*asperitate nominum deterritus*." Donatus, in the part of the note not taken by Servius, adds other surmises,³ in particular, "*alii de bellis civilibus dicunt*." This comes nearest to the *res Romanae* mentioned in the *Vita*. The mighty events of the years of civil war in 48 B.C. and thereafter would naturally impel to epic a spirit that had been feeling the way towards it. There is epic material in the mock-heroic of *Culex*, particularly in its Inferno. There is epic spirit in passages of *Ciris* and *Aetna* — *rudis Calliope*, as Virgil's editors called it.⁴ But the moment had not yet come.

It is hard to write epic on a contemporary theme. The Augustan epic that Virgil had partly planned when he was writing the third *Georgic*⁵ was concerned with contemporary history — the actual triumphs of his hero over the foes of the state, whom he doomed to an epic Inferno. As the poem gradually took shape in its creator's mind,

¹ *Vita Donatiana*, 5, 65, Brummer.

² See Servius (Donatus) on *Ecl.* 6, 3.

³ See above, p. 146, note 3.

⁴ *Catal.*, *Epilogue*.

⁵ *Vv.* 22 ff.

the contemporary and historical elements faded into the background, while the mythical and ideal succeeded to their place. The finished work, informed with the imagination of the poet, became all the more immediate and Roman. There are two bits of contemporary history in the poem; one is pictured on the shield of Aeneas, the other is tucked into the Inferno in the form of a prophecy. But young Virgil was not ripe for such an achievement. He might have started his early epic, say in 46 B.C., and worked at it intermittently up to the moment when "*offensus materia, ad Bucolica transit.*"

VII

COPA

Apart from Virgil's reaction from epic, two motives prompted the *Bucolics*, resulting in two different kinds of eclogue. One is the simple expression of his fondness of the country and of poems about the country. This pastoral interest already conspicuous in the earliest of his works, appears again in the *Copa*, if we may attribute this poem to him. It is attested by manuscripts of the ninth century and later, being found in the same sources as *Dirae* and *Lydia*; it doubtless formed part of that ancient codex whence all our manuscripts of the minor poems are derived.¹ Although not in Donatus's list, it is in that of Servius, and may have been carelessly omitted by the writer of the archetype of our manuscripts of the *Vita Donatiana*.² Further, *Copa* is cited as Virgil's by the grammarian Charisius in the fourth century,³ and in the preceding century, the pastoral poet Nemesian borrowed a verse of the poem almost without change.⁴ Another witness in the ninth century is Micon, who cites one of the verses in his prosodic dictionary.⁵ This, then, is satisfactory evidence of an external kind.

However much scholars differ as to the authorship of the poem, they agree that its charm is unique.⁶ It represents the proprietress of a

¹ See above, pp. 110 ff.

² See above, pp. 106 f.

³ *Gramm. Lat.* 1, 63, 11 K.

⁴ 4, 46: Hic age pampinea mecum requiesce sub umbra. Cf. *Copa* 31.

⁵ See Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 349.

⁶ See Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature* (ed. 1893), p. 257. Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 255, de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 220, and C. Giussani, *Letteratura Romana*, Milano (1898-99), p. 247, are the only scholars who have

humble tavern performing a seductive tarantella outside the door and plying the wayfarer with inducements to turn in. In the manner of the pastoral swain, she enumerates the attractions of the place — the rose, the bowl and the lute, a cool and shady pergola, the sweet sound of the shepherd's pipe in a Maenalian grotto, country wine just broached, sparkling water and heaps and heaps of posies brought in a basket by the nymph Achelois from the stream. Cheeses and plums and chestnuts and sweet blushing apples are there. Priapus watches the garden, which is stocked with grapes and mulberries and cucumbers. Come in, then, try a summer bumper and twining your brow with roses, gather sweets from the lips of a pretty girl. Why save up garlands to crown your tombstone? Yielding to this appeal, the traveller calls for wine and dice and bids the morrow look out for itself; for Death, plucking us by the ear, cries, "Live ye; I come!"

Some have thought this poem a bit too jovial for Virgil.¹ Is *Copa* more jovial than the picture of two satyr-lads and a fair nymph stealing up to the drowsy and still tipsy Silenus and binding him with garlands? Is there anything in *Copa* that the poet would not have ventured who makes Silenus promise the lads the songs they desire, and adds for the benefit of the nymph that hers shall be a different reward? Servius who has a rather solemn note on this passage from the sixth *Eclogue*,² is not blind to its Epicurean flavor — indeed he finds Epicurean dogma in it.³ Surely Virgil could interpret dramatically the lower sort of Epicureanism, as the character of Anna in the *Aeneid* shows.⁴ There is boisterous ribaldry enough in the third *Eclogue*, and the sen-

recently come out for the Virgilian authorship of the poem. It has been attributed to various authors of the Augustan age — Valgius Rufus, Propertius, and, with proper gallantry, to Propertius's sweetheart, Cynthia (Hostia); for the last-named hypothesis, F. Keppler, *Ueber Copa*, Leipzig, 1908, is responsible. Some put the poem in the second century of our era, ascribing it to Florus or to Septimius Serenus. For a review of these opinions, see C. Morelli, in *Studi di Filol. Class.*, xix (1912), 228 f.

¹ So A. Gudeman, *op. cit.* (above p. 104), 2. Birt, *Jugendverse*, etc., p. 10.

² On v. 26: *nymphae minatur stuprum latenter: quod verecunde dixit Vergilius*. Little *verecundia* on the part of Silenus, I fear; there is a difference between modesty and innuendo. There is also a little more humor in Virgil than in some of his illustrious commentators ancient and modern.

³ On *Ecl.* 6, 13: *ut ostendat plenam sectam Epicuream*, etc.

⁴ Cf. *Aen.* 4, 32 and *Copa*, 35.

suous joy of living is written on many pages of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*. And Virgil composed love poems, like everybody else.¹

Before thinking the *Copa* too riotous for the saintly Virgil, we may turn to one of the Priapean poems² on a barmaid — apparently a favorite subject in works of this kind. The *Copa*, for length and subject, might almost have a place among the tributes to the scarecrow god.³ The god himself is described in open language, but not more open than that in the second of Virgil's poems on Priapus. It may be that Virgil, intending another Priapean, proceeded to refine the material in his way, and ended by writing a different poem, in which the barmaid, not the scarecrow god is the central figure.⁴

The art of the poem is firmer and more mature than that of the poems examined thus far. Naeke,⁵ for this reason, put it in the age of Ovid, not reckoning with the pre-Ovidian character of the elegiac pentameter.⁶ This is the most important fact to observe about the metre; in the case of so short a poem, elaborate comparative statistics are labor lost.⁷ Coincidences with Virgil and Propertius are patent; but, as we have learned from the other minor works, that is no cause for putting *Copa* after the dates of these poets.⁸

¹ See above, p. 132.

² *Priapea*, 27.

³ No. 67, the longest in the collection, has, like the *Copa*, 38 verses.

⁴ Morelli, *loc. cit.*, p. 235, thinks that the author of *Priap.* 27 parodies *Copa*. This may be so. I am assuming that Virgil knew the subject-matter of No. 27, not necessarily that poem itself, which might have been later. If it contains parody of *Copa*, we may infer the existence of that work in the earlier part of the Augustan age.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁶ See above, p. 142, and for other details, K. Mras, in *Wiener Studien*, xxiii (1901), 252 ff., esp. 254 f., 265. Another early sign is the heaping of adjectives and participles on the same noun (vv. 1-4). See above, pp. 121 f.

⁷ See Morelli, *loc. cit.*, p. 228, N. 4; Vollmer *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907) p. 351.

⁸ See Mras, *loc. cit.*, pp. 264 ff.; Vollmer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 355 ff. On account of the "imitations" of Virgil and Propertius, Mras would date *Copa* after the latter's death in 15 B.C. But owing to the pre-Ovidian metre, it must antedate Ovid. The only possible date, therefore, according to Mras, is the latter part of 15 B.C. Now Ovid had begun his elegies on Corinna at least as early as 22 B.C., and published the first edition of the *Amores* probably in 19 or 18 B.C.; see the writer's article in *Amer. Journ. Philol.*, xxviii (1907), 287 ff., the results of which have been accepted by R. Ehwald in Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, cixvi (1914), 75. One might, then,

The chief excellence of *Copa* is the easy grace with which diverse elements are combined in a novel literary form of notable unity. The suggestion of pastoral is immediate. Our author, who showed no sign of Theocritus in *Culex*, has by this time read his Greek Bucolic poets with care,¹ and applies their devices to a novel situation; he will soon, in the second *Eclogue*, apply them to a strictly pastoral theme. He uses the elegiac metre, however; elegy had developed pastoral tendencies in Hellenistic literature, and it had a fascination for Virgil. One critic, however,² declares that *Copa* is not elegy, but *epigramma dimostrativo*. Whether it be elegy or something that looks like elegy, the infusion of the pastoral element into the elegiac form is an achievement with which Tibullus is generally credited;³ this is the reverse of the process carried out by the successors of Theocritus, who swamped the pastoral with the erotic elegy. If *Copa* is Virgil's, then he paved the way for Tibullus just as he did for Horace in his *Epodes*.⁴ But again, with its bit of dialogue and its realism, like that of some Pompeian scene, the poem recalls the little one-scene plays or mimes which had been popular in both Alexandria and Rome. It is not entirely realistic; the ordinary barmaid would not be familiar with Maenalian grottoes or the nymph Achelois. In this very commingling of art and nature, the piece is characteristic of Virgil.⁵ Finally, the immediate suggestion was perhaps given by a Priapean topic. In brief, this little poem is a fable for the departmental critics of literature, who do not like to see poets transgress their *Gebiet*;⁶ like *Ciris* and *Aetna*, it repre-

argue that the brilliant author of *Copa*, if writing as late as 15 B.C., would have known and utilized the metrical improvements perfected by Ovid. We should, therefore, date the poem before Ovid's work was well known, that is, before the *Aeneid* was published. Hence, it is the author of the *Aeneid* who borrowed from *Copa* and not *vice versa*.

¹ See Morelli, *op. cit.*, for parallels in Greek authors.

² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

³ See, e. g., Norden, in *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altert.*, etc., vii (1901), 269. F. Jacoby, *Rhein. Mus.*, lx (1905), 81 ff., would attribute the innovation to Gallus, particularly on the strength of *Ecl.* 10, but a careful reading of that piece will show that pastoral is precisely what Gallus had not been writing.

⁴ See above, pp. 140.

⁵ See above, p. 116.

⁶ See Hack's refreshing article, *The Doctrine of Literary Forms*, in *Harv. Studies Class. Philol.*, xxvii (1916), 1 ff.

sents a confluence of literary tendencies in its form and a confluence of emotional interests in the mind of the poet. *Copa* is an Epicurean document of a sort, though not, like the sixth *Eclogue* as allegorized by Servius, a text of Epicurean dogma. Epicurean philosophy, as its founder preached it, stands nearer to monasticism than to riotous pleasure. Perhaps, indeed, the poem marks Virgil's reaction from Epicurean science, when, *offensus materia*, he turned again to the sheer joy of living and of art.¹

MORETUM

A poem of equal finish and equal, if different, interest is the *Moretum*, or 'Salad.' It has won the plaudits of competent judges,² and has been translated by poets as diverse as Cowper and Leopardi. It is simply the description of a peasant's morning meal. If this be a sufficiently epic subject, the poem is an epyllion. Simylus, probably a slave, or a recent slave, owns a cottage and a bit of a garden. He gets up while it is still dark, finds the hearth by stumbling on it, starts the fire, grinds his meal to the accompaniment of a song and calls to his helpmate, Scybale, or 'Trash,' a very knowingly portrayed negress. After mixing his bread, he allows Scybale to bake it, and proceeds to the great act of the story, the creation of the salad. Getting the proper herbs from the garden, not forgetting four cloves of garlic, he seasons them with salt and cheese, stirring them with a little oil and vinegar into a homogeneous mixture, in which the individual ingredients lose their original virtues to form the new harmonious whole, the perfect salad. Scybale, meanwhile, has taken out the bread and breakfast is ready. Fortified therewith for that day, Simylus draws on his boots, drives his team to the cornland and plunges the plough in the soil.

The art of this delightful and original production is not Virgilian. It does not, like *Culex* and *Copa* and *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, present a harmony of realistic observation and literary allusion. It is all realism; the names of gods are used for the substances that they represent,³ but this common device does not affect the prevailing tone of matter-of-

¹ I would, therefore, date *Copa* about 45 B.C., though ready to admit that it might have been done earlier, perhaps with the *Priapea*, in the Catullan period.

² E. g., Naeke, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Mackail, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Giussani, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

³ V. 113: *Palladii guttas olivi*. Cf. vv. 52, 55.

fact veracity. The author is not, like Virgil in the *Georgics*, concerned with country life as a symbol of simplicity; he is interested in a situation, which he sets before us with vividness and charm. Virgil may have passed through a brief period of realism in the prelude of his career, or he may at almost any time have amused himself with translating a piece of his master Parthenius.¹ Supposing that unquestionable external evidence vouched for the *Moretum*, we could add it to his experiments. The fact is, that though the poem is ascribed to Virgil in manuscripts as early as the ninth century, it is not in the ancient list.² We are relieved of the necessity of adjusting it to the other poems. The quest of its talented author, presumably a writer of the Augustan age, need not engage us here.

VIII

DIRAE

Virgil's interest in the simpler type of pastoral is illustrated by *Copa*; the more elaborate form appears in the *Dirae*, or 'Curses,' the last of the works mentioned in the ancient list. These curses are pronounced by the poet on his own estate of which he has been robbed for the benefit of an old soldier. Battarus, a fellow-shepherd, who, like Mopsus in the fifth *Eclogue*, is skilled in accompaniment, plays his pipe while the poet delivers the imprecation, or, rather, a kind of summary and reminiscence of an imprecation already delivered;³ he changes his tones from lively to severe at the other's bidding. The poet prays that the pleasant breezes and the sweet breath of the soil may change to pestential heat and fell poison; he invites fires and floods to do their worst with his favorite grove and all of his little estate that the impious surveying-rod has measured off. The pipe

¹ The latter point is well made by Giussani, *op. cit.*, p. 247. However, the supposed facts in the case have been called in question, with good reason, by R. Sabbadini in *Rivista di Filol.* xxxiii (1903), 471; xliii (1915), 80.

² See above, p. 110ff. Its position in the *Libellus* after the Ausonian works *De Est et Non*, *De Institutione Viri Boni*, and *De Rosis Nascentibus* arouses suspicion. Nettleship (revision of Conington's *Virgil* by Haverfield, i (1898), xx) sought to show that there is a faint chance of its having been in the ancient list. Vollmer (*Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 341) evidently would like to accept *Moretum* on the basis of the Murbach list.

³ Vv. 1-3: Battare, cycneas repetamus carmine voces, etc.

plays a more cheerful note as he imagines the new occupant gathering rushes in the swamps where grain flourished before and hearing the croak of a garrulous frog in the ancient domain of the grasshopper. With the thought that the curse of civil war has brought the evil to pass, the shepherd prepares to leave his estate and his beloved Lydia. His sheep climb slowly down the hills, as he takes a farewell look and vows that nothing can drive from his heart the love of his little farm.

This poem seems to me altogether in Virgil's manner, and not far removed in time from the *Bucolics*. There are various coincidences in phrase with several of the *Eclogues*, and the closing scene notably recalls that of the first of them.¹ The verse is firm and strong, the description contains touches of Virgil, like the line

hinc aurae dulces, hinc suavis spiritus agri (22)

or the exact observation of nature in

praecipitent altis fumantes montibus imbres (76).

But these bucolic and realistic elements are combined, in a more elaborate kind of pastoral, with actual history. The poem reflects the woes of the Mantuan district, rather after Mutina in 43 B.C.² than after Philippi in 42, as the art of *Dirae* is less perfect than that of the *Bucolics*, which Virgil began to publish in the latter year. *Dirae* helps us understand the motive for historical allegory in those works. A real disaster has come to the poet — perhaps not to Virgil himself, but at least to his townsfolk. For the purpose of his poem, he plays the rôle of a shepherd who has lost his farm. He looks for an appropriate medium of indignation, and selects the poet's curse — 'Αρά — which Ovid also found useful in his exile.³ Naturally, the curse is

¹ For a list of Virgilian parallels, see G. Eskuche, *De Valerio Catone deque Diris et Lydia*, Marburg, (1889), pp. 63 ff.

² So the *Vita Probiana*, 73, 5 (Brummer). Conditions were unsettled in Cisalpine Gaul in 43 B.C. as well as in 42. Antony arrived there about the end of November, 44, and made at once for Mutina, where he found Decimus Brutus besieged. The battle of Mutina was fought at the end of April, 43. It was thenceforth a period of much commotion for the inhabitants. Even if no formal orders were given, cases of misappropriation of the rustics' lands by soldiers would have been possible enough. Later, after Philippi, fresh allotments were made. Virgil's townsmen might have suffered on both occasions.

³ Callimachus's *Ibis* is one of the various Hellenistic models with which both Ovid and the author of *Dirae* were doubtless familiar.

fitted to the situation. Shepherds have lost their farms; it is a pastoral curse. The next step is to write an actual bucolic on the same theme. In this way contemporary history creeps into the pastoral, not because the poet, starting with the pastoral convention, seeks to embellish it with a rather questionable novelty, but because impelled by a lively sense of wrong to write of contemporary events, he adapts these to an appropriate poetical form. The one undertaking is artificial; the other is sincere. But the actualities do not loom too large in the *Dirae*. Virgil is never crassly historical; that is the secret of the *Bucolics* and the *Aeneid* alike. So here, it is hard to localize the poet's farm at either Mantua or Cremona. In fact, it lies on the shore of the sea,¹ and if the curse avails, will be deluged with salt waves and be called another Syrtis — a disconsolate shepherd in the *Bucolics* makes the same prayer, which is taken by condescending editors for a mistranslation of Theocritus.² It is ever Virgil's way to merge the actual in the typical and ideal, and thus to make its reality the brighter.

Except for Vollmer, who finds nothing in *Dirae* to contradict the ancient testimony, there are few today who would ascribe the poem to Virgil.³ A discovery, now universally accepted, was made in 1792 by F. Jacobs,⁴ who saw that the text called *Dirae* in the manuscripts really contains two poems; the latter of these, from the name of the shepherdess from whom her swain is parted, is called *Lydia* by recent editors. Scaliger, developing a remark of Gyraldus's, was the first to propound the attractive theory that the author of both pieces was Valerius Cato, who, Suetonius tells us,⁵ lost his inheritance in the troubled days of Sulla, sang of a love named Lydia, and also composed a work evidently charged with the sentiment of the *Dirae*, as it was entitled *Indignatio*. But Suetonius also suggests enough of the

¹ Vv. 48-53.

² See Conington's note on *Ecl.* 8, 58.

³ The manuscript tradition is the same as that of *Copa*. Vollmer thinks that the poem was not included in the *Bucolics* because of its bitter tone. The reason is rather, that in the first *Eclogue*, Virgil worked up the same material in a new form. *Dirae*, after all, is an 'Apá and not a pastoral.

⁴ *Vermischte Schriften*, 5, 639. Naeke, *op. cit.*, p. 250, who in an early publication gave Jacobs the credit for the observation, says that when that *vir praestantissimus et maxime amabilis* later visited Bonn, he remarked, *suavi et plane sua modestia*, that he had quite forgotten his little discovery.

⁵ *De Gramm.* 11.

contents of the *Indignatio* to show that it was an entirely different affair.¹ The latest tendency is to treat both poems as anonymous.²

LYDIA

The *Lydia* offers crucial evidence for the views that I have been setting forth. As the work is not mentioned in the ancient list, we have no *a priori* right to call it Virgil's. As it is found agglutinated to *Dirae*, however, one naturally assumes a common authorship, especially as Lydia figures in both poems. But the validity of our test is apparent the moment that the two poems are compared. They cannot be by the same hand.

In the latter piece, we are presented with a shepherd who envies certain meadows because they can enjoy the presence of Lydia, from whom, for some unstated reason, he is now parted. There is none of the atmosphere of *Dirae* here — no lost estate, no intruding soldier. The meadows, whose-ever they were, will continue to blossom like the rose, especially if Lydia be playing in them. The poet repeats his envy in a love-sick refrain — *invideo vobis, agri*. The maiden, meanwhile, is coquettishly, perhaps symbolically, plucking green grapes with rosy fingers or crushing the soft grass on which she lies, as she warbles pretty nothings to meadow, stream and grove. Never maiden prettier or wittier than she, fit mate for Jove himself — but hold! This message is not intended for Jove's ear. She is not destined, evidently, to be the poet's mate, for he is slowly but surely melting into death. Disappointed love, not exile, seems to be his malady; his career has been a string of amatory failures. The happy animals are all mated. The moon has her Endymion and Phoebus his Daphne. The sky is populated with the sweethearts of the gods. Why, then, has so dreary a lot befallen humankind? Or is the lover's

¹ See Teuffel, § 200, 2. Naeke, p. 264, makes a desperate attempt to fit the matter described by Suetonius into such a frame as that of the *Dirae*. It is not even sure that the *Indignatio* was a poem.

² Teuffel, *loc. cit.* Schanz, § 99, continues to look with favor on Scaliger's hypothesis. The best presentation of this view was made by Naeke, *op. cit.*, and is further supported by Eskuche, who reviews the literature of the controversy, p. 50. Stylistic and metrical characteristics (Naeke, 317; Eskuche, 52 ff.), present nothing glaringly un-Virgilian. These scholars have proved, I believe, that both *Dirae* and *Lydia* antedate the *Bucolics*.

passion a sin? Was he the first to know the joys of stolen sweets? Would, indeed, that he had gained this proud distinction! His name would go ringing down the corridors of time. There follows another series of divine *exempla*, the amours of gods and heroes in the golden age. Ah, why was not the poet born then, when passion was not out of date? Such is the rack and ruin wrought on him by pitiless fate, that scarce enough of him remains to make out with the eye. With that, this belated Jupiter melts literally into an ounce or two of decadence. His separation from the meadows is now explained; he is not an ejected tenant but a dying swain.

Virgil did not disdain the theme of the present poem, but he could exalt it to serious poetry. A reading of the eighth *Eclogue* and the *Lydia* will show what is Virgil and what is not. The author of the latter work could not have been Virgil in any period. He is a descendant of the later Hellenistic poets, in whose work pastoral was submerged in the erotic. He is delicately erotic in the description of the dainty maiden and the green grapes; there is delicacy in the picture of the pale stars in the green firmament — he rather runs to green. There is a flavor of humor in his appeal to Jupiter not to listen too closely to the praise of Lydia, and there is a startling paucity of humor elsewhere. Morbid refinement, romantic yearnings and lack of humor are not Virgilian.¹ The two poems cemented together agree only in their general theme and in the name of the shepherd's love. That does not prove it is the same shepherd, or the same Lydia.² If Valerius Cato, as seems certain, had won fame for a poem about Lydia, Virgil might well adopt a name that had acquired typical value. Whether by Valerius Cato or not,³ the *Lydia* gives us an important glimpse into the literary history of the day and puts the originality of Virgil's achievement in higher relief. As the ninth *Eclogue* indicates, he probably found a group of pastoral poets in existence,⁴

¹ There is a vein of Catullan romanticism in the poem. See Eskuche, p. 73.

² Schanz, §99, cannot imagine that three different poets could sing of three different Lydias. But Horace can furnish from one to four more Lydias, and Martial one or two.

³ W. M. Lindsay, *Notes on the Lydia in Class. Rev.*, xxxii (1918), 62 ff., would call Valerius Cato the author. At any rate, the *Lydia* seems the earlier poem.

⁴ On the brotherhood of poets to which Virgil belonged, see the admirable remarks by Mackail, *Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 52 ff.

amongst whom he came, as Theocritus amongst contemporary idyllists, like a refreshing wind, blowing aside the vapors of decadence and sentimentality.

IX

Our survey of the minor poems has revealed nothing, so far as I can see, that cannot be reconciled with the testimony of the ancient life of the poet. Few wish, at first reading, to associate *Culex*, *Ciris*, and the rest with the author of *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. But careful pondering discovers many a flash of genius, many a similar trait of temperament or of art that impel us, or impel me, to conclude that here, too we find our Virgil. A pastoral mock heroic at the age of sixteen; Catullan *Nugae* and a Catullan epyllion; a period of stern Lucretian science and revolt from poetry, culminating in a poem on a volcano; a frustrated epic during the civil wars and epic stirrings in the other poems; pure pastoral delight expressed in various forms; a pastoral imprecation inspired by an actual grievance and reflecting contemporary affairs — such is the prelude to Virgil's *Bucolics*. It is an Alexandrian prelude, with signs of a larger impulse. Neither the temperament nor the art of the poet is fixed. He reflects, without harmonizing, the various literary and philosophical tendencies of the day. With an imagination kindled by the appeal of the moment, he follows now the Muses, and now the sterner daughters of science; it is that ancient battle of which Plato speaks between philosophy and poetry, a battle that Virgil fought till his dying day.

Such is the record, not of a series of impeccable masterpieces, but of the essays of a slowly flowering genius, that lies outspread in the minor poems. The process of flowering is slow, but the changes in any natural evolution are instantaneous and, when one compares the two states, apparently miraculous. The first of the *Bucolics* published — it was probably the second of the collection — must have come like a miracle upon Roman readers; it announced a literary creation in which the essential genius of the poet had a more normal scope for its expression than before — the epic pastoral. This event is no more startling than what we know was true of Horace. The gap between *Dirae*, the last of the minor poems, and *Eclogue* 1, the last of the *Bucolics*, is less wide than that between the very youthful

invectives of certain *Epodes* and the wise urbanity of the *Satires*. Suppose that we knew the early works of Horace only from the first book of the *Satires* and a selection of the daintier *Epodes*, and that a little volume were discovered, bearing the name of Horace as its author and containing *Lupis et agnis*, *At o deorum*, *Quid immerenti*, *Rogare longo*, *Mala soluta*, and *Quid tibi vis mulier*. What higher critic worthy of his calling would not condemn this bad little book as un-Horatian? And yet Book 1 of the *Satires* appeared in 35 B.C., and the *Epodes*, unquestionably genuine, in 30 B.C. Some of the pieces in the collection must be among the earliest things that Horace did. He knew their youthfulness, but he meant posterity to see all his life *votiva descriptam tabella*. Virgil destined for the world nothing but his best. Both records, luckily, are preserved, and both include the same event — youthful crudity magically giving place to mature perfection.

The call to epic, which sounded its first challenge in the *Bucolics*, came clearer and clearer thereafter and ultimately was heard in the national and universal tones of the *Aeneid*. As that achievement is set in a plainer light by the prophecies of it in the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics*, so these works are rendered more intelligible by the poems that preceded them. Sudden creations seem less abrupt when one considers the entire development of the poet. With the minor poems to guide us, we can follow, better than before, the course of Virgil's art, as it proceeds, like the life of St. Augustine,¹ *di malo in buono, e di buono in migliore, e di migliore in ottimo*.

¹ Dante, Conv. 1, 2, 106.

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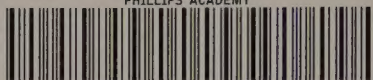
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